

A DIALECT STUDY OF COMPARATIVE AREAS IN GALLOWAY
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO
THE IRISH CONNECTION

William Alastair Drage Riach

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

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ABSTRACT

A Dialect Study of Comparative Areas in Galloway,
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Following the national Linguistic Survey of Scotland 1951/53, an in-depth dialect study of Galloway was appropriate as the dialect of Galloway had not been reported on in detail since McTaggart's Gallovidian Encyclopaedia of 1824. The close connection between Galloway and Ireland over centuries and particularly with the in-flow to Galloway of many Irish in the nineteenth century suggested a particular study.

A questionnaire of 240 items was prepared and personally administered to 221 primary informants of 60 years and older, over the whole region and during a period of 10 months. In this thesis, 192 responses from 55 items are presented and analysed; together with appropriate Word Notes and two essays on 'Physical Communication in Galloway' and 'The Irish in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Galloway'.

It was found that i) 3 rivers and 2 lines, less easily defined geographically, formed boundaries, beyond which varying numbers of words did not appear; ii) certain words were found in Wigtownshire only and others in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright only; iii) there were also certain responses to the same items which showed differentiation between Wigtownshire and the Stewartry, the two major sub-divisions of the region; iv) 61 per cent of the responses given in Wigtownshire and 59 per cent in the Stewartry have reference to Irish Word Lists.

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Without the sabbatical year which I was given by Memorial University of Newfoundland, I would have been unable to undertake the survey.

Various people made the task easier, by giving me introductions to other people, suggesting sources of information, making works of reference available, providing hospitality and assisting in many ways. Gallowa' folk will understand if I mention one name only, that of the late Mary G. Brown, former County Librarian of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, whose assistance was very considerable and whose sudden death in Australia during the survey was a great sorrow.

My wife accompanied me on all journeys, reading road maps, recording responses, keeping the conversation going, being a sounding board, duplicating drafts, chaperoning me with elderly spinsters, contributing from her own scholarship, enduring all things.

I am much indebted to my supervisor Mr. J.Y. Mather, under whose guidance and direction I worked, and to my examiners Mr. J.D. McClure and Dr. H.H. Speitel.

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A DIALECT STUDY OF COMPARATIVE AREAS IN GALLOWAY
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A DIALECT STUDY OF COMPARATIVE AREAS IN GALLOWAY

My interest in the dialect of Galloway began among the shepherds on the moors of Corsock, in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham, in 1942. It was nearly 30 years, however, before I was free to spend a year reviving that interest. In the meantime, I had travelled widely in Africa and North America and varieties of spoken English had become a special interest for me.

In 1970, having recently completed a phonological study in Newfoundland and having the prospect of a sabbatical year at my disposal, I found, to my pleasure, on consultation with the Linguistic Survey of Scotland, that some investigation of the dialect of Galloway was appropriate.

The dialect of Galloway is one of several dialects of Inglis or Scottis which "was flourishing round the court at Edinburgh and the University of St. Andrews ... from 1450 A.D. to 1603 ...",¹ but which today "remains chiefly as a group of mainly working class and rural, regional dialects...."²

Much has been written about Galloway but the only work devoted to its dialect is the 'Gallovidian Encyclopaedia' of John McTaggart in

¹Grant, W.M. Chambers Scots Dictionary - (Edinburgh: 1911),
Introd.

²Aitken, A.J. "Completing the Record of Scots" - Scottish Studies, Vol 8, (1964), p. 129.

1824. This work was not regarded seriously when it was published and involved its author in a law-suit for character defamation but, at least, it lists words in use in Galloway at the beginning of the 19th century.

Gaelic was spoken on the moors "at least until the Reformation",³ which would mean that the Inglis/Scottis came late there. They had rung with the clash of arms in the 14th century and they rang again with covenanting theology in the 17th. There was a shepherd population of some size in the 19th century and one academic prodigy was produced in the person of Alexander Murray⁴ who graduated from writing with heather birns on his mother's kitchen floor to being, at the age of thirty-two, professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh. Yet it would be fair to expect language conservatism on the moors.

The rest of the region, sliced by six rivers running into deep-set bays, is agricultural land stretching down to the Solway firth. Traditionally the inhabitants of the Rhinns, the Machars and the rolling plains of the Stewartry were more in touch with the outside world. The bustling activity of the ports of Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbright, Garlieston, Port William and Port Patrick, which had regular trade with Cumberland coast ports, the Isle of Man, Liverpool and Ireland, meant that there was constant verbal commerce also.

Subsidiary lines of communication between the fishing villages

³MacQueen, J., "The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway & Carrick", Scottish Studies, Vol. 17, Part I, (1973), p. 17.

⁴Reith, J., "Dr. Alexander Murray," The Gallovidian, Vol. XV, No. 57, (1913), p. 23.

of Carsethorn, Auchencairn, Whithorn, Luce, Drumore and Cairnryan also led to traffic in words. Invasions of Irish labour in the early 19th century, to meet the needs of new methods of agriculture, introduced a particular linguistic strain.

The progress of education, particularly after the 1872 Act, might be expected to have made some impression on both the quality and the content of what was said and written in Galloway. The involvement of Galloway men and women in two world wars, the national press, radio, television and tourists must have made some difference to the language habits of the region.

It did indeed seem appropriate to investigate how much remained of the dialect of Galloway. The task was a large one and became larger as it proceeded. The amount of material obtained in a year's survey was very considerable and provided a mine in which a lot of excavating may be done.

There are several associated topics, suggested by what has been said briefly above, which might be pursued with profit in more extended form and I am reminded of Professor McIntosh's dictum -

it should never be forgotten that investigations, both of a descriptive and comparative kind tend constantly to lead us out of linguistic territory ... into the wider world.⁵

I have chosen to write on two of these topics and have called them 'Physical Communication in Galloway' and 'The Irish in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Galloway'. These are given before proceeding to the analysis of material obtained in the Survey.

⁵McIntosh, Angus. An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects, (Edinburgh: 1952), p. 28.

PREPARATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The preparation of the Questionnaire was fundamental to the Survey. Essentially the plan (not the items) of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland 1951/53 was used, with supplementation from similar surveys. The initial sources of the items were the regional literature and glossaries. What was being sought were items which would produce geographically-differentiated, traditional, Galloway vocabulary.

The first Draft was taken to Galloway and contact was made with residents who had shown interest in dialect, notably as contributors to the Scottish National Dictionary. Visits were made to the Dumfries and Wigtown County Libraries and to the Broughton House Library in Kirkcudbright. Local writing which had not previously been available was searched out.

In the light of the experience of this visit, the second Draft was prepared. A few changes in the first Draft were made viz. a supernatural category was omitted, as not likely to be profitable; a parts-of-speech category was omitted, as likely to over-extend the Questionnaire; two new categories were added i) rhymes-for-elimination in children's games, ii) current knowledge of a small number of idiomatic usages. I tried to improve the precision of the questions as it was realised that precision of answer, in a dialect survey, is much influenced by precision of question.

Discussion with contacts had made me aware of a particular linguistic phenomenon in Galloway which obviously required investigation. It is popularly considered, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, that

there is a similarity between the speech of Wigtownshire and Ireland and that the similarity does not extend to the Stewartry.¹ I hypothesised that, if this were so, there might be a particular lexical deposit in Wigtownshire and not in the Stewartry. I therefore added an open-end section to the second Draft asking for Irish-type words in use.

The second Draft was circulated amongst the contacts, with notes for their guidance; the response was encouraging, except for the Irish section where it was nil. As I felt it was the method of eliciting the Irish information that needed revising, I prepared a long list² of more than 500 Northern-Ireland³-type lexemes and sent it to the same contacts with the request that they should indicate if they had heard these particular words used in their parishes. The response this time was considerable and items were prepared for the Questionnaire which would test the currency of such lexemes, during the Survey.

The preparation of the third Draft was now proceeded with. Five changes were made from the second Draft viz. i) the 'numbers' and 'eliminating-rhymes' categories were dropped, as unlikely to be profitable, ii) items which had produced no dialectal response were

¹'sowl boys' is a Stewartry expression for the inhabitants of 'the Shire'; 'over the Cree and into the Irish' refers to the notion that the River Cree is a linguistic boundary as well as a geographical one.

²The list was compiled from Patterson, W.H., A Glossary of Words in use in the Counties of Antrim & Downs; Traynor, M., The English Dialect of Donegal; Evans, E.E., Mourne County.

³'Northern-Ireland', because at this stage my information was that the Irish who came to Galloway were all from Northern-Ireland.

dropped, iii) items on 'flowers', 'birds', 'insects' and 'fish' were revised, in view of cross-naming difficulties, iv) ambiguities in item wording were removed, v) more items were added to test the currency of Irish-type lexemes.

The Third Draft was now tested in the parishes of Kirkmaiden and Stoneykirk in visiting informants in their homes. The results obtained were reviewed and a further assessment of the Questionnaire was made viz. i) certain categories were grouped together to make for easier association of informants' ideas, ii) the total number of items was reduced because of the time elderly informants were able to concentrate. A Fourth Draft was prepared.

The Fourth Draft was numbered and became 'The Questionnaire'; however, after a short time in the field, three alterations were made viz. i) 9 responses which had kept recurring suggested that division of some items was desirable and 9 items which had not proved very profitable were dropped, ii) 21 items had their wording made more precise, iii) some re-numbering was done to improve association of items. The Questionnaire was now in its final form - see 'Galloway Dialect Questionnaire - final' (all drafts are on file).

As the Survey proceeded and while the material was being analysed, I had further thoughts as to other changes I would make if I were constructing another questionnaire; reference is made later to some of these thoughts. The editors of 'The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland' refer to this aspect of questionnaire making - "The progressive elimination of error must be the aim in dialectology as in other sciences: each enquiry

fails partially, but carries at the same time the seeds for further investigation and the extension of knowledge...."⁴

Two matters may be mentioned conveniently which will explain my strategy vis à vis that of the Atlas (published since my questionnaire was constructed). There is mention in the Introduction to the Atlas⁵ that existing surveys emphasise items which concern picturable, concrete nouns rather than abstract nouns, verbs, adjectives etc. My questionnaire of 240 items has 113 of the former type and 127 of the latter. Support for this emphasis would be that as the national Survey had been conducted there was the possibility of a further selection of dialect words being found and, because my survey was to be administered personally, it was going to be possible to define verbally to informants exactly what was being sought.

My Questionnaire follows the Atlas Questionnaire "by investigating mainly one linguistic aspect in one particular questionnaire",⁶ but whereas the Atlas Questionnaire has further followed the plan of "letting the linguistic requirements determine the order in which items appear", I adopted an association-of-ideas plan which I had found was easier for elderly informants who had difficulty in making mental 'jumps' from one idea to another. I note that the Atlas

⁴The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Scots Section vol. 1, 1975 (Introd., p. 10).

⁵Ibid. (Introd., p. 13).

⁶Ibid. (Introd., p. 14).

editors go on to say, "It must be admitted, however, that a topically ordered field questionnaire can hold the informants' interest much longer...."⁷

⁷Ibid., Note 96, p. 25.

GALLOWAY DIALECT QUESTIONNAIRE

(final)

WEATHER, etc.

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. cold, dry, east wind | 1. |
| 2. cutting north wind | 2. |
| 3. sudden drop in wind | 3. |
| 4. warm, moist and misty | 4. |
| 5. cold and harsh | 5. |
| 6. overcast and threatening | 6. |
| 7. raining slightly | 7. |
| 8. raining heavily | 8. |
| 9. rainbow, or part | 9. |
| 10. fog coming in from the sea | 10. |
| 11. uneasy, threatening. of sea or wind | 11. |
| 12. dusk, twilight | 12. |

PEOPLE & WHAT THEY DO

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| 13. tiresome child | 13. |
| 14. greedy person, a) food b) money | 14. |
| 15. unusually fat, lazy person | 15. |
| 16. short, thickset person | 16. |
| 17. ignorant, talkative person | 17. |
| 18. useless fellow | 18. |
| 19. tell-tale | 19. |
| 20. silent woman | 20. |
| 21. slatternly woman | 21. |

22. wife who is an encumbrance	22.
23. tinker	23.
24. beggar	24.
25. clever in a handy way	25.
26. left-handed	26.
27. weary, exhausted	27.
28. thin and drawn	28.
29. grey and listless	29.
30. cold-natured, a) cold-hearted	30.a)
b) physically	b)
31. all dressed up for an occasion	31.
32. well-to-do	32.
33. simple-minded	33.
34. impertinent (in an inquisitive way)	34.
35. stubborn, awkward	35.
36. irritable, quicktempered	36.
37. difficult to listen to because of continual self-praise	37.
38. peevish, complaining	38.
39. drunk	39.
40. club-footed	40.
41. having toes turned in	41.
42. numbness in a limb	42.
43. feeling of returning circulation	43.
44. legs	44.
45. wasting sickness	45.

46. jaundice	46.
47. reduction in swelling	47.
48. nervous cough	48.
49. to faint or swoon	49.
50. going with big steps	50.
51. chattering	51.
52. rage or passion	52.
53. abuse and counter-abuse	53.
54. mixed-up fight, brawl	54.
55. mild oath expressing emphasis or surprise	55.
56. fooling around as children do	56.
57. giving assistance under arm	57.
58. to work at odd jobs	58.
59. to exchange one thing for another	59.
60. to choose, select	60.
61. to squeeze	61.
62. to tear apart	62.
63. to beat, thrash	63.
64. to stop, cease	64.
65. to make a bargain	65.
66. to extricate oneself by argument	66.
67. to challenge	67.
68. to pretend	68.
69. to crouch	69.
70. to put a point on something	70.

71. to poke	71.
72. to make an attempt	72.
73. to be delayed by circumstances	73.
74. to go for a ride on a vehicle	74.
75. an outing	75.
76. aimless visiting around	76.
77. rumour	77.
78. funny story or incident	78.
79. the one who tells such (78)	79.
80. precipitately, in a sudden rush	80.
81. throwing flat stones to bounce on water	81.
82. the throwing of coins to children at a wedding	82.
83. kiss given to celebrate something new	83.
84. frightening	84.
85. unknown	85.
86. tedious	86.
87. an exceptionally good thing	87.
88. new or unusual thing	88.

HOW WOULD YOU SAY:

89. "It'll be dark before you're there."	89.
90. "I've just completed telling you."	90.
91. "He didn't bother his head."	91.
92. "She's very like her mother."	92.
93. "I did it on purpose."	93.

94. "I'm obliged to you."	94.
95. "Since my birth."	95.
96. "Under the stairs."	96.
97. "I'll have nothing to do with that."	97.
98. "On account of the weather."	98.
99. "Close to the house."	99.
100. "Opposite the hotel."	100.
101. "Is it to your satisfaction."	101.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

102. specks of soot flying around room	102.
103. a. shrunk through washing	103. a.
b. small tufts on washed woollens	b.
104. washed poorly, leaving smears	104.
105. almost boiling	105.
106. to prepare a meal	106.
107. lump of dough	107.
108. lump of butter	108.
109. buttermilk	109.
110. sour cream	110.
111. to swallow a big mouthful of liquid	111.
112. odds and ends of food	112.
113. tasteless, unseasoned	113.
114. potato	114.
115. small potato	115.
116. waste potatoes given to pigs	116.
117. mashed potatoes with a flavouring ingredient	117.

118.	lunch brought by children to school	118.
119.	shapeless slipper or shoe	119.
120.	small saucepan	120.
121.	wooden bowl	121.
122.	wooden butter container	122.
123.	wooden milk bucket, one stave protruding to form handle	123.
124.	metal plate for pouring milk into to let cream rise	124.
125.	to pour water from one vessel into another	125.
126.	to pour out water, as into a drain	126.
127.	playing around with water, as children do	127.
128.	empty	128.
129.	covers of a book	129.
130.	coverlet for bed	130.
131.	potato masher	131.
132.	broom made of twigs	132.
133.	block for cutting wood	133.
134.	handful	134.
135.	pint of whisky	135.
136.	hole or space for stowing junk	136.
137.	inclined path or lane leading to house	137.
138.	eaves of a house or stack	138.
139.	"alive with"	139.
140.	limp, sickly, unreliable	140.

141.	entangled	141.
142.	whirling	142.
143.	fluttering	143.

FARMING AND LANDSCAPE

144.	potato sproutings	144.
145.	uncovered pile of potatoes	145.
146.	to dig with a spade	146.
147.	cut of turf	147.
148.	cut of earth	148.
149.	muddy mess	149.
150.	large lump of weeds	150.
151.	to throw turnips into a cart	151.
152.	trimming of oatstacks	152.
153.	dressing down of haystacks	153.
154.	cow near to calf	154.
155.	cow which will calve in early part of year	155.
156.	smallest pig in litter	156.
157.	nervous, excited (of horses)	157.
158.	wild, unmanageable (of horses)	158.
159.	sheep's wool, a) its grain	159. a)
	b) tufts left on fence or hedge	b)
160.	clot of wool or manure on animal	160.
161.	sheep's a) legs b) feet	161. a) b)
162.	section of flock to which sheep are accustomed	162.
163.	sheep one shepherd can handle	163.

164.	sheepfold	164.
165.	gathering of many people to give assistance on a farm	165.
166.	to tie legs of animal to prevent leaping	166.
167.	two-handed spade used in cutting peats	167.
168.	hammer for breaking stones	168.
169.	to dress a millstone	169.
170.	smith's anvil	170.
171.	hare-hole in dyke	171.
172.	gap in fence or dyke	172.
173.	temporary gate in gap	173.
174.	hinged farm gate	174.
175.	pastureland bordering on sea	175.
176.	outlying pasture	176.
177.	distant, wild country	177.
178.	steep glens	178.
179.	last furrows going right round field	179.
180.	sharp corner of field or small field not easily reached	180.
181.	small stream	181.
182.	pile of stones in river	182.
183.	level, loamy land by river	183.
184.	easily-crumbled, stony soil	184.
185.	springy, mossy ground	185.
186.	loose pile of stones on land	186.
187.	hollow in a hill	187.

188.	stalks remaining after burning coarse heather	188.
189.	ooze, slime	189.
190.	embankment built across river or inlet of sea to divert water	190.
191.	thorns at edge of sea	191.
192.	reef	192.
193.	sea-rocks, cliffs	193.
194.	clefts in rocks	194.
195.	extremity at base of headland	195.
196.	gap or pass in cliffs	196.

FLOWERS, BIRDS, INSECTS, SEA-FISH

197.	wild hyacinth	197.
198.	wild cherry	198.
199.	hawthorn	199.
200.	bramble	200.
201.	sloe-berry	201.
202.	vetch	202.
203.	sorrel	203.
204.	watercress	204.
205.	bogmyrtle	205.
206.	song thrush	206.
207.	mistle thrush	207.
208.	wren	208.
209.	snipe	209.
210.	pipit	210.

211. moorhen	211.
212. curlew	212.
213. cormorant	213.
214. puffin	214.
215. tern	215.
216. oyster catcher	216.
217. shelduck	217.
218. bat	218.
219. glow-worm	219.
220. louse	220.
221. hairy caterpillar	221.
222. horse fly	222.
223. razorshellfish	223.
224. green crab	224.
225. bearded rockling	225.
226. pollack	226.
227. sea-bream	227.
228. sea-lamprey	228.
229. gurnard	229.
230. coalfish	230.
231. horse mackerel	231.
232. porpoise	232.
233. bottle-nosed whale	233.
234. lump-sucker	234.

235. fork for spearing fish at low tide 235.
236. to catch fish with huge unbaited hooks 236.
237. to drive salmon into a net with a pole 237.
238. salmon net operated by a team 238
239. " " " one man 239.
240. " " on bag principle 240.

NAME

ADDRESS

PARISH How long lived in parish

Ancestry Where else

.

Age group

Date.

ADMINISTERING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This was to be an in-depth survey by parishes. In Scotland, the parish has been the primary sociological and administrative unit since the Middle Ages. After the Reformation, the national church placed a minister in each parish; the children of the parish attended the parish school; the three Statistical Accounts were parish oriented; parish rivalries were common.

The focal point of the parish was the village, with church, school, shop, tradesmen and sometimes a market. Parish news was exchanged and verbal commerce enjoyed. Until the beginning of the 19th century, there was little fluctuation in the population of either parish or village, or movement from one parish to another. The introduction of improved agricultural methods and the arrival of Irish labour increased the population rapidly.

In Galloway there are 44 parishes.¹ Much of the region today is divided into large farms - dairy in the low-lying ground and sheep on the moors. Many farms have changed hands in recent years and some of the new owners have come from outside Galloway. Mechanization has considerably reduced the numbers of workers employed on the farms. The Forestry Commission has acquired extensive acreages on the moors with consequent change from native shepherds to non-native forestry workers. A large section of Stewartry coast-land is controlled by the military as a shooting range. Salmon fishing is carried on at a few coastal points. (See map of region, p. 372)

¹The parish and county system was replaced in 1975 by districts and regions.

The 1971 census showed a total population of 54,790 (divided almost equally between the two counties). There are five small towns, of which Stranraer is by far the largest with 8000 inhabitants, and most of the historic parish villages. Probably about half the elderly retired natives live in the towns and villages. I visited 133 informants in Wigtownshire and 198 in the Stewartry or 1 in 265 of the total population of the region. It can be said, in terms of the conditions imposed by my selective criteria that no one eligible was omitted.

The period spent in a parish was usually from Tuesday to Friday. The first step was to make contact with some knowledgeable person, usually the parish minister, whose interest and support had been secured through introduction or correspondence. With his assistance and often accompanied by him, I called on likely informants -natives², over 60, intelligent, having adequate hearing and likely to be willing to cooperate. All the attributes for an ideal informant were not always found to be equally present and sometimes there had to

²'natives' means 'natives of the parish in question': some of the selected natives had always lived in their parish; some had lived elsewhere for shorter or longer periods, e.g., in an adjoining parish or in training or war service; one had actually worked in the horse-trade in Mongolia: all had returned to retire in their native parish and were happy to recall the words of their childhood and youth: in some cases, claim was made to be of families that had lived in these parishes for centuries (the questions at the end of the Questionnaire were included to assist in choosing bona-fide parish natives but care was taken not to be thought to be prying into progenitors either immediate or distant; securing genuine local speech was the primary aim): the informants were mostly within a 30 year age span which was very advantageous in terms of being representative of the same period of time, cf., The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Note 76, p. 25.

be tactful withdrawal. In fact, the kind of informants I was looking for were not easily found and the further east I went, the more this was so.

When a second visit was considered likely to be profitable, it was arranged for a mutually convenient time. The amount of time spent on a second visit varied from two to four hours, depending on various factors viz. the preparedness of the informants, viewing the garden, inspecting family treasures and drinking tea. Visits were never hurried and much linguistic information was obtained incidentally.

In many instances the Questionnaire-form was left with the informants on the first visit, as a guide to the kind of words being looked for; in some cases this was not thought to be appropriate and in a few cases I wished I hadn't left a form as the informants had been frightened and had to be re-won or were lost irretrievably. Generally I thought it sound policy to leave the form, as some preparation on the part of the informant was an advantage. In one case, studying the Questionnaire had had quite a therapeutic effect on an informant who had been in a depressed state following an illness. I always said that there was no need to write-in responses but the better educated usually did or made notes on a separate piece of paper. The length of time between visits was of far less importance than the willingness of the informant to be helpful. Interest in 'words', or in traditional Galloway, or wishing to preserve the dialect, were potent influences, when present.

There were always two of us at an interview, my wife and myself. While I conducted the interview, my wife quietly kept the record; there

was thus no inhibiting factor such as paper or tape obviously in view; informants naturally accepted the fact that a record had to be kept but were not reminded of the fact by pauses, which would certainly have been necessary if I had been alone and had had to keep the record myself. The presence of my wife also made it easier to arrange interviews, particularly with elderly spinsters, and conversation was more easily spread. Even at that, one elderly lady would only consent to see us in the presence of her minister and another, I found, had consulted her lawyer, between the two visits, 'to see if it was alright'.

In many cases the primary informant was accompanied by a spouse, friend or neighbour; indeed there were several occasions when seven, eight or nine people had been invited to participate. The presence of others had both disadvantages and advantages but, being aware of the former and taking account of them, I think much profit was gained. The advantages were that more minds were at work, livelier individuals sparked responses; we were meeting people who might not have consented to be interviewed alone and a consensus of opinion as to what was the local word was more quickly obtained. Disadvantages occurred if a vocal participant had a geographically mixed background, or was a Burnsian, or a reader of newspaper columns about Scots words, but I always began by establishing identities and my wife made a careful record of these, often in parallel columns, and of the contributions that particular individuals made; the contribution of one or several, 'not chirted in the same chisset', could then be excised quietly later.

On a few occasions older children were present and sometimes showed a lively interest, e.g., a twelve year old boy, who had had an

intimate relationship with his grandmother, was able to produce words which others present of his grandmother's generation were able to endorse. Our choice of informants, we think, agrees with the remark by the Editors of the Atlas viz. "Our experience is that dialect is more readily accessible to investigators through older people ... and often through children."³

I often valued the presence of a relative, in the case of the very old - and we had several nonagenarians, both to give confidence and to stimulate memory. It should not be thought that the very old were less able to be good informants. I can think of one ninety year old man whose daughters felt they had to restrain rather than encourage.

Some informants found that they were able to relax with words they had not used, or thought of, for a long time; some became reminiscent and others felt they were doing something for Galloway; one contact wrote to say he had found a real sense of fulfillment among several informants he had visited after we had left the parish.

We met people who remembered how the dialect had been repressed in their school days, as something inferior. The fact that we were encouraging them to produce it came as a surprise; that we were able to speak Scots ourselves, if not always Galloway Scots, helped to break down reserve. We learned to recognise when we should say 'What is said in this parish?' or 'What did your granny say?' rather than 'What is your word?'; this was more necessary among simple folk than 'bettermos'. A

³The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Introd., p. 14.

cross-section of the whole of Galloway society was included among our informants. A feature of the Galloway rural scene, if not the Scottish rural scene generally, has been common education at the primary level. The laird sat on the same kirk-session with his cattle-man and would use the dialect freely. I can recall vividly the reported dialect usage of the late Earl of Stair.

My intention was to seek 'words' in living memory, which means, in the case of the oldest informants, digging into the 19th century and, if it was their granny's word they were remembering, digging deep. Joseph Wright said 'that dialect speakers, in extreme old age, revert to the dialect as it existed in their youth'.⁴ I think I may claim that not a few of my informants were of McIntosh's 'resistant types' i.e. whose speech 'has been less affected than other types of speech spoken there, by recent influences from outside'.⁵

It would be inaccurate to think of informants being able to produce their appropriate dialect word on request, in the case of any given item. Even if they had had a dialect word which they used formerly, a more widely used word may have become habitual and their own word forgotten. It was not uncommon for an informant to say 'I should know a word for that but I just can't remember it!' Sometimes this was

⁴Wright, Joseph, The English Dialect Grammar, (Oxford: 1905), preface.

⁵McIntosh, Angus, An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects, (Edin: 1952), p. 85.

because the need for a particular word has ceased, as in certain agricultural operations - both horses and haystacks are almost extinct in Galloway. When the more direct approach of 'What is your word?' or 'What is said in this parish?' or 'What did your granny say?' failed to elicit a response, we tried 'Do you know any of these words?' and I would produce words I had obtained from other informants in the same parish or the next parish. I learned quite quickly that Gallowegians would not admit to any word which was not their own. Braidwood says that the Scot 'feels committed to his utterance as no Irishman does.'⁶ They were also very ready to understand that it was 'the local word', and only 'the local word', I wished to be given.

There may be several words to describe an aspect of weather or a human characteristic like slatternliness and, when one dialect equivalent is given, it does not mean that others are not known. I found this fact recurring; moreover there was a close relationship between some contiguous items in the Questionnaire which sometimes made for cross-responding. Time did not permit an exhaustive search for all possible words that might be given. In fact this would have encouraged an examination atmosphere which I was trying to avoid and would have spoiled the relaxed atmosphere I tried to encourage in all our interviewing.

In some interviews I did not ask all the questions. If an informant was tiring, I brought the interview to a close. Sometimes it seemed unprofitable to ask certain of the questions - for example, fish

⁶Braidwood, J. *Ulster Dialects - An Introductory Symposium*, (Ulster Folk Museum: 1964), p. 88.

questions of shepherds and sheep questions of fishermen. A few informants wished their identity concealed in any reporting, while a few others would have been happy to see their names in print. Usually I joked about informants appearing as dots on maps.

By and large, our experiences of interviewing were happy and we seldom came away feeling despondent. Often we felt that we had been present at an occasion that would not be readily forgotten. We cannot speak too appreciatively of the degree of cooperation we received from the informants and we think that a significant part of the success was the carefully prepared introduction and the policy of never being in a hurry.

The major part of the interviewing was done from October to April when the informants were willing to be indoors and often welcomed the diversion of visitors. We also visited from May to July but it was more difficult to arrange interviews and more easy for them to be cancelled. I would recommend the former period to any who may consider carrying out another survey in future.

INFORMANTS

The primary¹ informants in each parish are listed by letters A, B, C, D, E with the addition of small (i); secondary² informants are listed as small (ii), (iii) etc; the occupations of males are given; females are housewives unless otherwise stated; all are native of the parish in question; the parishes are numbered 1-44 and named; the responses shown are the primary informant's and sometimes corroborated by one or more of the secondary informants, or suggested by them and corroborated by the primary informant.

¹Primary informants are those selected in the process described in Administering the Questionnaire.

²Secondary informants are additional persons present, on the invitation of the primary informant.

1. Kirkholm:
- A (i) Cochrane, John 60+ farmer
 - (ii) Cochrane, Mrs. 60+
 - (iii) Mills, Robert 70+ blacksmith
 - (iv) McCrone, Doug 40+ farmer
 - (v) McCrone, Mrs. 40+
 - B (i) The questionnaire in this case was left for a week in the pub of the Commercial Hotel and patrons were encouraged by the bar-man to contribute (there was no check on background or age of informants).
 - C (i) Ross, Thomas 90+ farmer
 - (ii) Ross, Mrs. 70+
 - D (i) Ross, Andrew 30+ farmer
2. Leswalt:
- A (i) Cluckie, Thomas 70+ farmer
 - (ii) Cluckie, Mrs. 70+
 - (iii) McKie, Mrs. 70+ (sister of Thomas)
 - (iv) Harvey, Mrs. 30+ (daughter of Thomas)
 - B (i) Agnew, John 60+ farmer
 - C (i) McCaig, Wm 40+ farmer
 - (ii) McCaig, Fiona 12 (daughter)
 - D (i) McClymont, James 70+ mill-driver
3. Portpatrick
- A (i) Anderson, John 75 retd. green-keeper
 - B (i) Gibson, Alex 70+ retd. farm worker
 - C (i) Wallace, John 40+ farmer
 - (ii) Wallace, Elspeth 13
 - D (i) Muir, Miss 70+
 - (ii) Douglas, Miss 70+

4. Stoneykirk:
- | | | | | |
|---|-------|-----------------|-----|---------------|
| A | (i) | Clanachan, Mrs. | 70+ | |
| B | (i) | Hainey, Bob | 70+ | cowman |
| C | (i) | Murray, Mrs. | 70+ | farmer's wife |
| | (ii) | Murray, Hugh | 70+ | farmer |
| | (iii) | Murray, Hugh | 17 | (grandson) |
| D | (i) | McCaig, Robert | 70+ | ret'd. farmer |
| | (ii) | McCaig, Mrs. | 60+ | |
| | (iii) | Hainey, Rob | 70+ | hermit |
5. Kirkmaiden:
- | | | | | |
|---|------|----------------------------|-----|------------|
| A | (i) | McGaw, Miss Agnes
Grace | 70+ | |
| | (ii) | McGaw, Miss Ina | 70+ | |
| B | (i) | McClymont, Archie | 60+ | farmer |
| C | (i) | McWilliam, Wm | 90+ | farmer |
| | (ii) | McWilliam, Miss | 40+ | (daughter) |
| D | (i) | Reid, Mrs. Nanna | 60+ | |
| E | (i) | McGuffog, Mrs. Lily | 70+ | |
| F | (i) | Gibson, John | 70+ | fisherman |
6. Stranraer:
- | | | | | |
|---|------|-----------------|-----|-----------------------|
| A | (i) | Adamson, Wm | 60+ | pump attendant |
| B | (i) | Hastings, Mrs. | 80+ | |
| | (ii) | Heggie, Mrs. | 80+ | |
| C | (i) | McCulloch, Mrs. | 60+ | boarding house keeper |
| D | (i) | Murray, Alex | 60+ | lawyer |
| E | (i) | Smith, Charles | 70+ | lawyer |

F	(i)	Smith, Miss C.	60+	retd. teacher
	(ii)	Smith, Miss A.	50+	teacher
G	(i)	Wright, Alex	50+	poet

7. Inch

A	(i)	Diamond, Mrs. John	80+	
	(ii)	Diamond, John	80+	retd. farm worker
B	(i)	Hewitson, Wm	70+	game keeper
C	(i)	McLagen, Miss H.V.	80+	retd. teacher
D	(i)	Spiers, Thomas	60+	church beadle
E	(i)	Thomson, James	60+	fisherman
F	(i)	Murdoch, Mrs.	30+	
G	(i)	Finlay, Alex	50+	shepherd
H	(i)	McWhirter, D.	60+	

8. New Luce:

A	(i)	McQuaker, John	70+	vet. (contrib. to SND.)
B	(i)	Leiper, John	70+	farmer
C	(i)	Galloway, John	70+	shepherd
	(ii)	Galloway, Alex	40+	(son)
	(iii)	Galloway, M.	40+	(daughter)
D	(i)	McIlwrick, Alex	70+	farmer

9. Old Luce:

A	(i)	Miller, Buff	90+	retd. merchant
B	(i)	Hendry, Henry	80+	jeweller
C	(i)	Robbins, J.	60+	fisherman
D	(i)	Murray, Alex	70+	farmer
	(ii)	Murray, Mrs.	70+	

Kirkcowan:

- 10.
- | | | | | |
|---|------|----------------|-----|----------------------|
| A | (i) | Cannon, James | 70+ | farmer (machars) |
| | (ii) | Cannon, Mrs. | 70+ | |
| B | (i) | McKenna, James | 70+ | sheep-farmer (moors) |
| | (ii) | McKenna, Mrs | | |
| C | (i) | McGeogh, J. | 80+ | church officer |
| | (ii) | McGeogh, Mrs. | | |
| D | (i) | Chesney, Mrs. | 70+ | shepherd's widow |
| E | (i) | Frame, Hugh | 50+ | shepherd |
| F | (i) | Dewar, Peter | 50+ | shepherd |
| | (ii) | Dewar, Mrs. | 50+ | |
11. Mochrum:
- | | | | | |
|---|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|
| A | (i) | Ronnie, Wm. | 70+ | blacksmith |
| B | (i) | MacTier, Alex | 80+ | retired farmer |
| C | (i) | Ferguson, Alex | 45 | joiner |
| D | (i) | Morton, Mrs. | 70+ | |
| E | (i) | Gaw, Wm. | 70+ | farmer |
| F | (i) | Jesson, James | 50+ | butcher |
| G | (i) | Fairbairn, Joe | 60+ | fisherman |

12. Glasserton/ Isle of Whithorn:

- | | | | | |
|---|------|------------------|-----|---------------------|
| A | (i) | Eccleson, George | 70+ | market gardener |
| B | (i) | Kirk, Miss A. | 40+ | farmer |
| | (ii) | Kirk, Miss B. | 40+ | farmer |
| C | (i) | Simpson, Wm. | 70+ | retired farmer |
| D | (i) | Arney, Thomas | 50+ | caravan camp keeper |

E	(i)	Kiltie, David	80+	retired farm servant
F	(i)	Hunter, Mrs. John	60+	
	(ii)	Hunter, John	70+	retired postman
G	(i)	Robb, Miss	80+	retired lady's maid
H	(i)	McGuire, Charles	70+	retired fisherman

13. Whithorn:

A	(i)	Murray, A.	50+	boarding house keeper formerly publican
	(ii)	Murray, Mrs.	50+	
B	(i)	Smith, Hugh	90+	retired mill-driver
	(ii)	Smith, Ina	60+	(daughter)
	(iii)	Smith, May	60+	(daughter)
C	(i)	Wilson, Mrs. Janet	70+	
D	(i)	Wylie, Mrs.	70+	(daughter of manse)
E	(i)	Henderson, Miss	70+	(retired teacher)

14. Sorbie/Garlieston:

A	(i)	Bell, Mrs. Nellie	60+	local corresp. Galloway Gazette
	(ii)	Woods, Tom	70+	blacksmith
B	(i)	McCreath, Mrs. J.D.	70+	farmer
C	(i)	Wallace, John	60+	pig-breeder

D	(i)	Woodside, Alex R.	60+	retired teacher
	(ii)	Woodside, Mrs.	60+	retired teacher
E	(i)	Kirk, Alex	70+	roadman
F	(i)	McLachlan, Mrs. S.	70+	
	(ii)	McLachlan, Mrs. J.	70+	(sister in law)
G	(i)	Brydon, J.	50+	creamery manager

15. Kirkinner:

A	(i)	Hughes, Mrs.	70+	farmer's widow
	(ii)	McDowall, Bim	30+	grain-miller
B	(i)	Wallace, J.	60+	farmer
	(ii)	Wallace, Jim	12	(son)
	(iii)	Morrison, Wm.	60+	farmer
	(iv)	Morrison, Mrs.	60+	
	(v)	McKenzie, Robert	60+	farmer
	(vi)	McKenzie, Mrs.	60+	
	(vii)	Paterson, Robert	70+	retired blacksmith
C	(i)	Walker, Mrs.		(sister of Mrs. Hughes)
D	(i)	Young, Miss Madge	70+	

16. Wigtown:

A	(i)	Edgar, Mrs.	70+	
B	(i)	Barrett, Mrs.	70+	widow of haulier
C	(i)	Smith, Andrew	40+	farmer
D	(i)	Lindsay, Johns	60+	farmer
	(ii)	Lindsay, Mrs.		
	(iii)	Lindsay, Jim	14	(son)

E (i) Morton, Hugh 70+

17. Penninghame:

A (i) Simpson, Mrs. 70+

B (i) the questionnaire in this case was taken to Old People's Home, Newtown Stewart and administered by Mr. Ridley Brown, 60+, himself a native of Penninghame, a retired editor of the Galloway Gazette.

C (i) Nicholson, Miss H.T. 50+ solicitor

D (i) Scott, John 70+ farmer

E (i) the questionnaire in this case was administered by an interested school teacher, not a native, to 3 natives (one the son of informant in 16A (i))

F (i) Drew, Miss H. 60+ farmer

18. Minnigaff:

A (i) Campbell, Mrs. Eliz. 60+ farmer's wife

B (i) McClymont, Miss M. 70+

C (i) Murray, Mrs. Jessie 50+ joiner's wife

(ii) Murray, Mrs. Mgt. 50+

(iii) Thornton, Mrs. J. 50+

(iv) Stroyan, Mrs. E. 60+

(v) Purdie, Miss E. 70+

(vi) McKeand, Mrs. J.B. 70+

19. Kirkmabreck:

A	(i) Durham, Miss	70+	daughter of deceased blacksmith
B	(i) Wilson, J.	80+	retired sheep farmer
	(ii) Wilson, Mrs.	80+	
C	(i) Vernon, John	70+	joiner
D	(i) Latta, Mrs. J.	60+	wife of garage proprietor
	(ii) McGuffie, Mrs.		(mother of Mrs. Latta)
	(iii) Lupton, J.	60+	fisherman
E	(i) Barr, James	60+	Registrar
F	(i) McQuistan, J.M.	60+	schoolmaster
G	(i) Kerr, Mrs. M.		

20. Anwoth:

A	(i) Johnston, Mrs. C	60+	
	(ii) Munro, Donald	50+	
	(iii) Munro, Sandy	50+	
	(iv) McCulloch, Walter	50+	
B	(i) Henry, W.	80+	farmer
C	(i) MacLeod, Miss A.	60+	farmer's daughter
	(ii) Twiname, Mrs. B.	60+	" "
D	(i) Henderson, G.	60+	castle-guide
E	(i) McCreddie, H.	70+	farmer
F	(i) Ferguson, Adam	50+	farmer
	(ii) Ferguson, Robert	20	(son)
G	(i) McWhirter, Miss M.	80+	

21. Girthon:

A	(i) Milligan, Adam	60+	estate worker
B	(i) Veitch, Mrs.	50+	farmer's wife
	(ii) Veitch, Mrs. Sen		(mother-in-law)
C	(i) Patterson, H.	70+	postman
D	(i) Tait, J.J.	80+	cabinet maker

22. Kells:

A	(i) Murray, Robert	60+	shepherd
	(ii) Murray, Gilbert	60+	shepherd
B	(i) Milligan, L.	70+	retired hotel-keeper
	(ii) McGill, Miss N.	70+	
C	(i) McClintock, James	80+	retired coal-merchant
D	(i) Wilson, Mrs.	70+	retired maid
E	(i) Coltart, Miss A.	80+	

23. Carsphairn:

A	(i) Barclay, Mrs. N.	70+	(contrib. to S.N.D.)
B	(i) Sinclair, Mrs.	50+	
	(ii) Sinclair, J.	50+	farmer
	(iii) Campbell, Colin	30+	sheep-farmer
C	(i) Bell, Rab	50+	shepherd
	(ii) Bell, A.	20+	(son)
	(iii) Dougan, Miss	60+	retired teacher
	(iv) Wilson, Mrs. C.	60+	retired shepherd's wife
D	(i) Dickson, Wm.	50+	joiner

24. Dalry: A (i) Hutchison, Mrs. M. 60+
 (ii) McNaught, Tom 70+ retired blacksmith
- B (i) Edgar, James 60+ farmer
 (ii) Edgar, Mrs.
- C (i) Hastings, Wm. 50+ shepherd
 (ii) Hastings, Mrs.
- D (i) Coltart, Miss M. 60+ clerkess

25. Balmaclellan:

- A (i) Robinson, Frank 60+ retired farmer
- B (i) Wilson, Miss 60+ farmer's daughter
- C (i) Cannon, Miss 70+
 (ii) Cannon, Miss 50+
 (iii) Cannon, Miss 20+
- D (i) Corrie, A. 50+ blacksmith
- E (i) Kelly, Mrs. M. 70+

26. Crossmichael & Parton

- A (i) Milligan, Mrs. 60+
 (ii) Geddes, Miss 60+ retired teacher (sister)
- B (i) Craig, John 70+ farmer
 (ii) Brownrigg, Mrs. 70+ (sister)
- C (i) Callendar, Sam 50+ engineer
 (ii) Callendar, Miss F. 50 postmistress
- D (i) Rennie, Mrs. 70+ retired farmer's wife
 (ii) Rennie, J. 70+ farmer
 (iii) Rennie, Miss 70+ (sister)
- E (i) Black, Sam 60+ farmer

27. Balmaghie:

A	(i)	McKinnel, Miss Mary	70+	
	(ii)	McKinnel, Miss H.	70+	
	(iii)	Mundell, Miss J.	70+	
B	(i)	Wells, Mrs. Agnes	70+	farmer's wife
	(ii)	Wells, A.	70+	farmer
C	(i)	Houston, John	70+	farmer
	(ii)	Houston, Mrs.	70+	

28. Tongland:

A	(i)	Maltman, J.		retired farmer
	(ii)	Maltman, Miss		daughter
B	(i)	Armstrong, Jock	70+	retired farmer
	(ii)	Armstrong, Mrs.	70+	
	(iii)	Brown, Mrs. Susan	70+	

29. Twyholm:

A	(i)	Campbell, R.S.	60+	farmer
B	(i)	Cruikshank, Mrs.	90+	farmer's widow
	(ii)	Cruikshank, Miss	50+	daughter
	(iii)	Carter, Hugh	70+	(nephew)
C	(i)	Robertson, J.	60+	farmer

30. <u>Borgue:</u> A	(i)	Smith, Alex	50+	farmer
	(ii)	Smith, Mrs.	50+	
	(iii)	Sproat, Alex	30+	farmer
B	(i)	Parker, John	80+	farmer
	(ii)	Parker, Mrs.	70+	

C	(i)	McLachlan, John	70+	farmer
D	(i)	Sneddon, Bob	70+	farm manager
E	(i)	Walker, Mrs.	60+	(blacksmith's daughter, joiner's widow; he was ardent contributor to SND)

31. Kirkcudbright:

A	(i)	Graham, Mrs.	80+	
B	(i)	Haugh, George	60+	musician
C	(i)	Grierson, John	60+	farmer
D	(i)	McQueen, Mrs.	80+	
E	(i)	Beattie, Miss	60+	milliner
F	(i)	Middleton, James	60+	
G	(i)	Fairweather, Andrew	60+	garage proprietor
H	(i)	McAdam, Miss	90+	
	(ii)	McAdam, Mrs.	80+	(sister in law)

32.	<u>Kelton:</u>	A	(i)	Campbell, J.	60+	farmer
			(ii)	Campbell, Mrs.	60+	
		B	(i)	Campbell, C.	60+	farmer
		C	(i)	Morrison, Mrs.	60+	
			(ii)	Anderson, Mrs.	50+	
		D	(i)	McDonald, John	60+	water bailif
			(ii)	McDonald, Mrs.	60+	

33. Kirkpatrick-Durham

A	(i)	Wilson, John	60+	shepherd
	(ii)	Waugh, Wm	70+	shepherd
B	(i)	Bell, Mrs. B.	50+	farmer's wife

34. <u>Urr:</u>	C	(i) Callendar, A.	70+	blacksmith
		(ii) Callendar, B.	70+	"
	D	(i) McQuaker, A.	70+	farmer
	E	(i) Baird, George	70+	joiner
	F	(i) Hunter, Mrs. M.	80+	farmer's daughter
		(ii) Hunter, Tom	80+	ex-policeman
	G	(i) Wilson, James	40+	
	H	(i) Roxburgh, Miss	80+	
	I	(i) Johnstone, Miss M.	60+	
	A	(i) Thomson, Miss M.E.	70+	retired teacher
		(ii) Borrowman, Mrs.	70+	
	B	(i) Jack, Miss Amelia	70+	ex-provost
	C	(i) Farish, J.	40+	
	D	(i) Gillespie, D.	70+	medical doctor
	E	(i) Jackson, W.	60+	farm manager
	F	(i) Biggar, James	50+	farmer
		(ii) Biggar, Miss N.	80+	aunt
		(iii) Biggar, Miss E.	80+	aunt
		(iv) Biggar, Ken	50+	farmer
		(v) Carson, Bob	70+	farm-worker
	G	(i) Martin, G.	80+	cattle-dealer
	H	(i) Halliday, Wm.	60+	farmer
		(ii) Halliday, Mrs.		
	I	(i) Forsyth, Wm.	70+	retired chauffeur
	J	(i) Johnston, D.	80+	retired taxi-owner
		(ii) Johnston, Mrs.		
	K	(i) McCrerie, Miss M.	80+	

L	(i) McKinnel, George	60+	cabinet-maker
M	(i) Wright, D.C.	70+	coal-merchant

35. Buittle:

A	(i) Black, Miss	80+	
	(ii) McDonald, Mrs. N.	50+	(niece)
B	(i) Welsh, Miss M.	60+	maid
	(ii) Welsh, Miss J.	60+	maid (sister)
C	(i) Muir, Andrew	70+	farmer
D	(i) Halliday, Joe	70+	farmer

36. <u>Rerrick</u>	A	(i) McClymont, Wm.	70+	
	B	(i) Rae, J.	80+	farmer
	C	(i) Copland, Miss	70+	village-shop
	D	(i) Geddes, Miss N.	70+	retired post woman
	E	(i) Marshall, J.	70+	farmer
		(ii) Marshall, Mrs.		

37. Colvend & Southwick:

A	(i) Wither, Mrs. H.	60+	
B	(i) Affleck, W.	80+	cattle-dealer
	(ii) Affleck, Mrs.	70+	
C	(i) Edwards, Miss E.	80+	
D	(i) Bigham, Mrs.	60+	farmer's wife
E	(i) Roan, James	60+	farmer
	(ii) Roan, Mrs.	60+	
F	(i) Gibson, Mrs.	70+	farmer's widow
G	(i) McKinnel, Mrs.	60+	
H	(i) Davidson, A.	60+	fisherman
I	(i) Carruthers, Mrs.	70+	

38. Kirkgunzeon:

A	(i) Kirk, Mrs. J.	70+	
B	(i) Little, Mrs.	80+	farmer's widow
C	(i) Clark, M.R.	60+	haulier
D	(i) Hyslop, Wm.	70+	farmer
	(ii) Hyslop, Wm.		

39. Lochrutton:

A	(i) Johnston, A.	80+	farm servant
	(ii) Johnston, Mrs.	80+	
B	(i) Welsh, Mrs. Alice	70+	
C	(i) Young, W.	70+	forestry worker

40. Kirkpatrick-Irongray:

A	(i) Gibson, J.	60+	farmer
B	(i) Maxwell, R.	50+	shepherd
C	(i) Jardine, J.	70+	water-reservoir keeper
D	(i) McRobert, Sandy	70+	

41. Terregles:

A	(i) Ross, Miss J.	50+	
B	(i) Brydson, W.A.	70+	
C	(i) Todd, Miss A.	50+	teacher

42. Troqueer:

A	(i) Truckell, A.E.	50+	museum curator
B	(i) Grierson, S.W.	60+	farmer
C	(i) Weems, T.	60+	
D	(i) Richardson, D.	50+	

43. New Abbey:

A	(i)	Howatt, Miss	70+	Sister
	(ii)	Howatt, J.	70+	farmer
B	(i)	Caruthers, J.	60+	garage proprietor
C	(i)	Macmillan, Mrs.	70+	farmer's wife

44. Kirkbean:

A	(i)	Robson, Miss	80+	retired teacher
	(ii)	Robson, J.	80+	retired fisherman
B	(i)	Clark, Miss	60+	
C	(i)	Kirkland, J.	70+	retired farmer
	(ii)	Kirkland, Mrs.	70+	

PHYSICAL COMMUNICATION IN GALLOWAY

The ease or difficulty with which people move from one point to another in a region has implications for the spread of language. The deep bays of the coast of Galloway, the rivers which run into them, the heather-clad hills and the bogs are all barriers. In times, when to go a few miles from home was an adventure, to cross the river or the bog or the hill or the bay was not done casually. Bolder spirits, of course, found a way across or around, and fishermen plying out of one small port would land at another small port in another bay. Fishermen and sailors-in-general were often the unconscious transmitters of vocabulary from one part of a country to another; soldiers, pilgrims and traders all made their contributions in this way too.

In days of metal and tar-surfaced highways, blasted through hill-sides and spanning river gorges, one forgets the appalling task facing land travellers, in days gone by, who wished to move across a region like Galloway. Soldiers being marched for military purposes, drovers driving cattle, pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Ninian at Whithorn, traders peddling their wares, all moved along what were often only tracks which were very hardgoing at best, and in wet weather often impassable; rivers, of which there are several, had to be forded and at least one the ebb of the tide had to be waited for.

Galloway extends from the Irish Sea to the River Nith, some 100 miles, and from the tips of several promontories, which jut into the Solway Firth, some 50 miles into the moors shared with Ayrshire. Wigtownshire, the western part of the region, is divided into the Rhinns

(from the Mull to Corsewell Point, the Machars (the peninsula separating Luce and Wigtown Bays) and the Moors which cover most of the four northern parishes. The Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the eastern part, also has moorland to the north, but mostly is farmland similar to the Machars of Wigtownshire. The parishes, 17 in Wigtownshire and 27 in the Stewartry, are often only a few miles in dimension and represent the administrative needs of earlier times. A series of rivers flow from the moors, south to the bays on the Solway Firth, and at their mouths, at least, they are wide and deep.

The story of the roads in Galloway, like the roads themselves, stretches back into history. There is some conjecture about the line of the early roads. In 'The Drove Roads of Scotland'¹ Haldane gives us some description of what the road system amounted to at one period:

From the Wigtownshire coast to Dumfries stretched a series of cattle markets or trysts. Some of these appear to date back at least as early as the end of the 17th century.... but some of later date, no doubt owed their rise and growth largely to the Irish trade.... The position of these trysts gives a fair indication of the route by which the Irish beasts and those of local breeding passed eastward to Dumfries, to Carlisle and to England. The main trysts appear to have been held at Glenluce, Newtown Stewart, Gatehouse, New Galloway, Kelton Hill, Crocketford and Dumfries....

William Mackenzie in his 'History of Galloway'² gives two extracts from the Minutes of the Commissioners of Supply for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which illustrate the state of the roads in the 30ties of the

¹Haldane, A.R.B., The Drove Roads of Scotland, (Edinburgh: 1968), pp. 163-65.

²Mackenzie, W., History of Galloway, (Kirkcudbright: 1841), p. 405.

18th century:

2nd June 1733, The Commissioners of Supply hereby appropriate £13 towards the cutting of rocks and marking roads through quagmires in the road leading from Goatend (near Gatehouse) to the Ferritoun of Cree which now is impassable for carriages.

22nd December 1737, the Commissioners resolve to execute the Laws for repairing highways ay and until the road from Kirkcudbright to New Galloway be made passable for travellers, wheel-carts and carriages.

In all probability, military roads preceded drove roads and these would be very old indeed. The Romans occupied sites as far apart as Innermessan on Loch Ryan and Glenlochar on the Dee and it is unlikely that the Romans had no linking road. Again I must quote from an account of a later period but what Arnott has to say of 'The Military Road to Portpatrick 1763'³ has suggestions of what the state of roads, used by the military, had been previous to that date:

Directly after the suppression of the '45 Rising a strenuous period of road making was commenced in Scotland by the government.... The original proposal for the road, embodied in a plan, is first referred to by Major Rickson (who had been put in charge of the road) as dated 1756 but 1763 seems to have been the operative date. Contrary to modern notions, no new road was constructed, but existing roads and tracks were made use of, improved, supplied with ditches and draining and doubtless resurfaced. In many places, deviations from the existing tracks, especially in the Stewartry, were involved, existing bridges widened, as at Glenluce, or their approaches regraded, as at Creebridge and a large number of new bridges built.... It may well be that in parts the road followed the line of the Roman road which we now know must have run from the vicinity of Dalswinton to Glenlochar, Gatehouse and beyond.... About 1783 it was becoming clear that the existing military road from Gatehouse to Creetown was inadequate and a number of local proprietors began to agitate for a new coast road.... Shortly afterwards Major Rickson journeyed to Newtown Stewart and ... explained that he had come ... in order to ascertain the places

³ Arnott, M.C., "The Military Road to Portpatrick" 1763, Trans. Dumfries & Galloway Nat. Hist. & Arch. Soc. XXVIII, p. 120.

where the bridges are to be built all the way from Dumfries ... and he pointed out that until the sites of the bridges had been made certain the direction of the road cannot be absolutely determined ...

Mackenzie also refers to the bridge at Newtown Stewart. He says:

The bridge at Newtown Stewart which first connected Wigtownshire & the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright was erected in 1745 at the joint expenses of the two counties. It cost £150 sterling.... The bridge was swept away by a flood about the year 1810. The erection of the present bridge across the Cree at Newtown Stewart was commenced in the summer of 1813 and built of native granite chiefly from the moors of Minnigaff at a cost of £6000 by Mr. Kenneth Matheson of Inverness ... (who also) built the bridge across the Ken at New Galloway and the bridge over the blackwater of Dee at Duchrae.⁴

One further quotation will round off the picture of the roads of the Stewartry. In 'The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright 1590-1890', Alex D. Anderson says:

... it was decided to introduce the turnpike system on the more important roads and an act of Parliament authorising this was obtained in 1797 ... the 1797 act authorised the construction of eight toll roads ... and a programme of road building was started by the Road Trustees beginning with the Dumfries-Castle Douglas Road, while the Commissioners of Supply made themselves responsible, with the aid of public subscription, for the construction of bridges (1804-24) ...⁵

In Wigtownshire, apart from the section of the main road from Newtown Stewart to Portpatrick, there does not seem to have been more than very primitive roads much before 1800. J.M. Wood in an article "Coaching Days in the South of Scotland"⁶ supports this view with the following amusing note:

⁴Mackenzie, ibid.

⁵Anderson, Alex. D., "The Development of the Road System in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright 1590-1890", Trans. Dumfries & Galloway Nat. Hist. & Arch. Soc., XLIV (1913).

⁶Wood, J.M., Coaching Days in the South of Scotland, Chap. V, 'District Routes & Their Development (The Gallovidian, Spring 1913).

The late Sir William Maxwell (of Monreith) used to tell how expensive it was to his grandfather if his lady (who died in April 1798) took a fancy to drive to Wigtown; for there were five march dykes in the ten miles, in each of which a slap had to be redd for my lady's coach and rebuilt afterwards.

The next paragraph, however, entitled the "Machars Mail" puts the travelling situation in the next half-century in a rather different light:

The mid-thirties saw a movement on foot on the part of the country gentlemen of the neighbourhood to open up the important district of the Machars by a coach running from Stranraer by Glenluce to Whithorn and from Whithorn round the coast to Wigtown and from thence to Newtown Stewart and back to Stranraer - a route which would not only bring into communication a considerable area of country, but which would also bring passenger connection directly into touch with several seaports, useful enough in their small way.

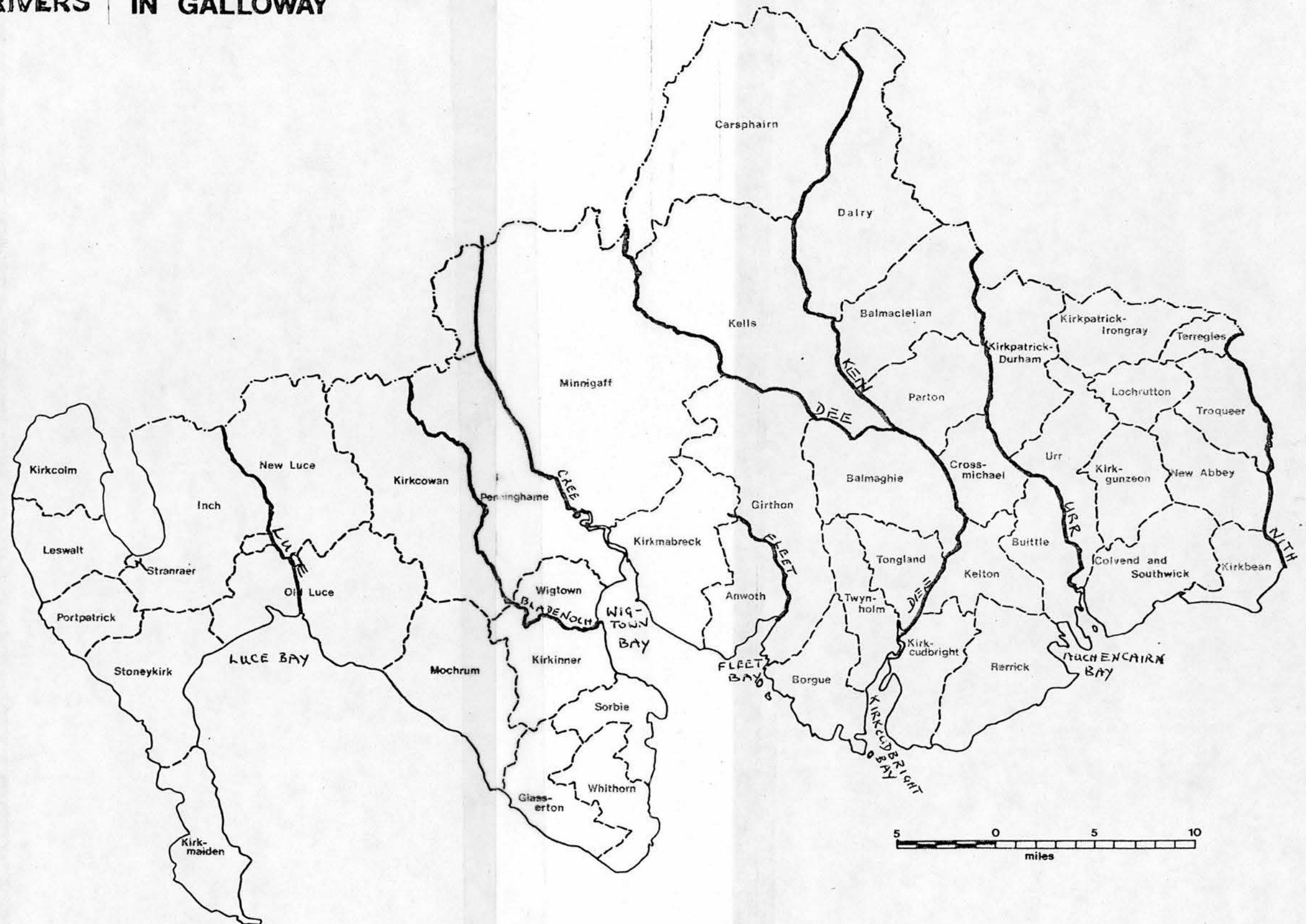
These road building years covered the same period as when the waves of Irish were sweeping across the region. The new roads can only have facilitated their progress eastwards as they looked for seasonal agricultural work on the farms.

During our Survey there was an extensive road improvement programme in progress - principally straightening out bends, particularly between Gatehouse and Creetown. 'The Road' runs on and is today 'the notorious A 75'.

Rivers in Galloway

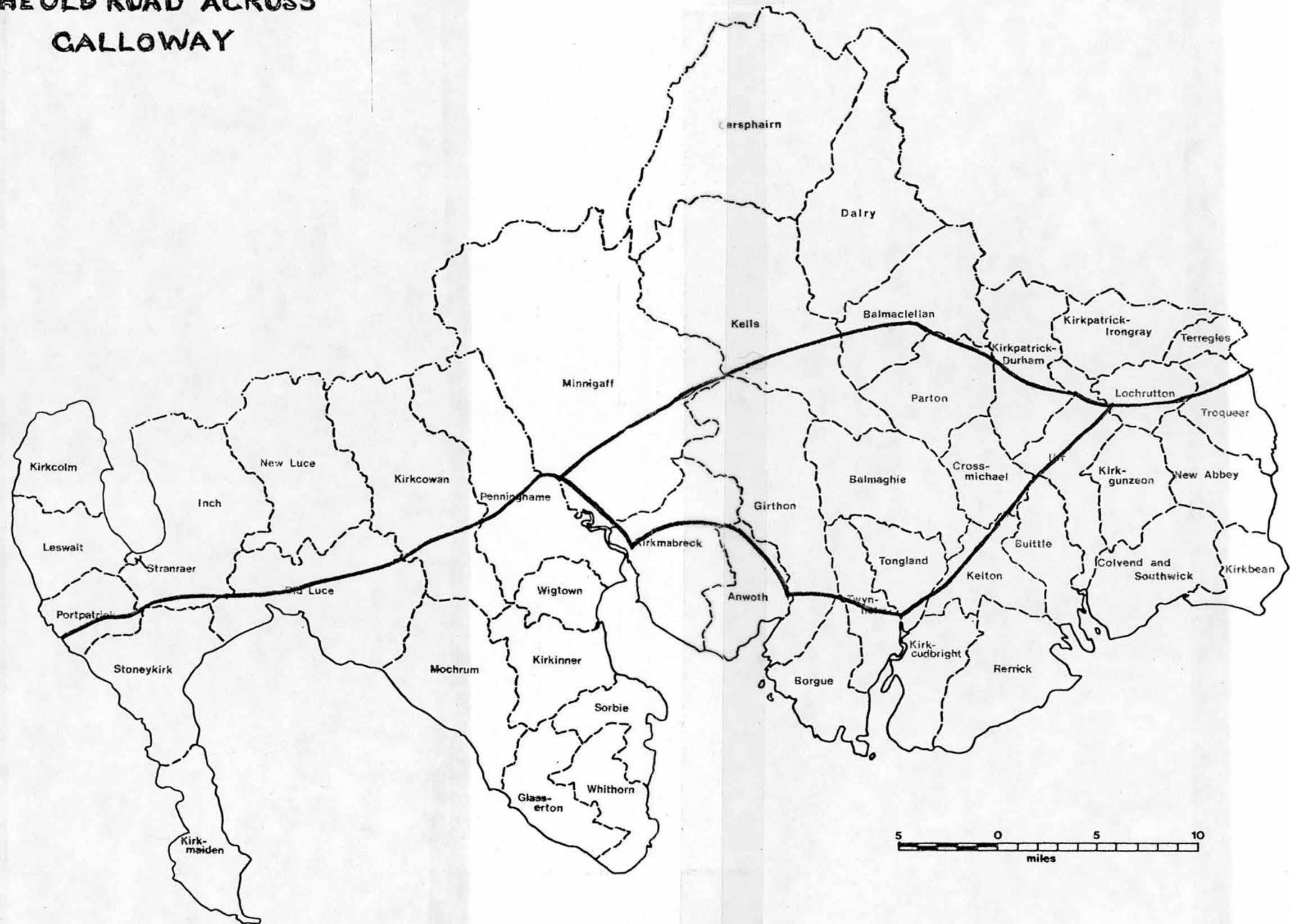


RIVERS IN GALLOWAY



The Old Road Across Galloway

THE OLD ROAD ACROSS GALLOWAY



17th Century Roads & Toll Roads 1864

THE IRISH IN EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY GALLOWAY

It would be surprising had there been no contact between Ireland and Galloway, considering the short sea-distance. McKerlie in his 'Galloway Ancient & Modern'¹ sums up what is probably true - "there appears to have been continuous intercourse between Hibernia & Alba from the earliest times". The possession, by the MacDonnells-of-the-Isles, of the Glynnns of Antrim in the fourteenth century, the Route, and finally the whole of the north and east of Antrim in the sixteenth century, was significant contact between the two countries but the Islemen were soldiers, and Gaelic-speaking, and it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that settlement-proper by English-speaking Scots began.

In 1606, Alexander Hamilton and Hugh Montgomery, both Ayrshiremen, began to occupy the arable lands of Antrim and Down, together with their relatives and Ayrshire artisans. In 1610 the Plantation began and the chief Scottish Undertakers were assigned portions of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan and Donegal; among them was Sir Robert McClelland of Bombie, in Kirkcudbrightshire, who was assigned the barony of Boylagh and Banagh in Donegal.

¹McKerlie, P., Galloway Ancient & Modern, (Edinburgh: 1891), p. 45.

The chief undertakers assigned sub-portions of their portions to ordinary-undertakers. All the Galloway undertakers (with one exception) were assigned sub-portions in the Boylagh and Banagh barony (the exception was one sub-portion in Fermanagh). Appendix I gives details of the identity of the undertakers and their areas of settlement.

Assigning portions of territory and having them developed were two quite different things; lack of money, finding willing settlers, transporting them and persuading them to stay, when conditions were unfavourable, were all causes of delay. By 1613 there were still only about 400 adult Scottish settlers in Boylagh and Banagh and all the sub-portions had been taken over by John Murray of Broughton (brother of George), at the express wish of the King.

Sir Robert McClelland, who had made little attempt to develop the Donegal estates he had retained, transferred his interest to two areas he had leased from the Haberdashers' and Clothiers' proportions in Londonderry and to several town-lands in Down which he had obtained as dowry when he married Hugh Montgomery's daughter. Pynnar's Survey (1619) counted '86 British men' on the Haberdashers' proportion and Perceval-Maxwell says "most, if not all of whom, must have come from Scotland".² It is a reasonable assumption that, in the McClelland portions both in Londonderry and in Boylagh and Banagh, the settlers would be from Galloway.

In 1616 measures were taken to deal with the problem of criminals who were fleeing from justice in Scotland to Ireland. The

²Perceval-Maxwell, M., The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I, (London: 1972), p. 177.

ports of Whithorn, Kirkcudbright and Portpatrick were designated to serve Galloway but Portpatrick, because of its proximity to Ireland, might well have been used by a much wider section of the Scottish population. Emigration had increased but the quality of settler was considered low-indeed; 'going for Ireland' was considered as the last resort of the least worthy of the Scottish population,³ hence the control mentioned.

It is not possible to ascertain the numbers or quality of Galloway natives who emigrated to Ireland during the Jacobean Plantation; they were fewer and less worthy, probably, than is suggested by writers like Hanna. Perceval-Maxwell's estimate is -

... the 14000 or so adult Scots who populated Ulster during the Jacobean Plantation came largely from the eight counties which lay either along the border of England or up the west coast to Argyllshire.... These immigrants consisted of a cross-section of Lowland society, though the less well off and less stable elements probably predominated.

If we think of Galloway as being two of the eight counties, less than 2000 Galloway natives would seem to have emigrated to Ulster at this time.

³"....Going for Ireland was looked upon as the miserable mark of a deplorable person, yea, it was turned to a proverb, and one of the worst expressions of disdain that could be invented to tell a man that Ireland would be his hinder end." A. Stewart, A History of the Church of Ireland, 1610, pp. 313-15, quoted by J. Braidwood, The Ulster Dialect Lexicon, 1969.

Eighteenth Century

In the mid-eighteenth century, the old cattle trade with Ireland, suppressed by the Scottish parliament in 1667, was revived.⁴ Irish cattle were again brought to Scotland through Portpatrick, sold in the Galloway markets and driven into England. The east-west migration was now in reverse for as Handley says -

... with the cattle that were regularly shipped from Donaghadee to Portpatrick came scores of Irish drovers many of whom seem to have settled in Galloway and married into the native stock⁵

It should not be thought that there was no west-east migration until the drovers came. The parish records of Minnigaff⁶ have entries which testify to the presence of other-Irish in Galloway (see Appendix II). No doubt, the records of other parishes provide similar references.

Irish vagrancy became common as the eighteenth century advanced and Irish labourers, skilled in ditching, draining and enclosing, were actively encouraged to emigrate to Galloway by farmers who were

⁴ "... In 1667 and 1688 the Privy Council made orders prohibiting the landing of Irish cattle.... There is no evidence to show how successful were these efforts to check the trade but the import of Irish cattle remained, at least in theory, illegal till 1765. The ban was then withdrawn and it is on record that five years later Portpatrick possessed six vessels of fifty tons each which were mainly employed in shipping cattle from Ireland. The Statistical Account for the parish of Portpatrick records that between 1786 and 1790 over 55,000 head of Irish cattle were imported and in 1812 as many as 20,000 were landed. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 163-65.

⁵ Handley, J.E., The Navvy in Scotland, (Cork: 1970), p. 17.

⁶ Minnigaff Parish Records 1690-1750 (published in MS, a copy being available in Wigtown County Library, Stranraer).

responding to the new ideas about agriculture of Craig of Arbigland and others.

The Statistical Account of the 1790's⁷ is a fruitful source of information on the Irish in Galloway in the eighteenth century, as it is a parish by parish account by parish ministers. In Wigtonshire (I use the spelling of the time) 6 out of 17 report the presence of Irish in their parishes; Stranraer, Inch, Leswalt, Wigton, Kirkinner and Mochrum; and they do so with feeling:

- Stranraer - 'The town is oppressed by Irish vagrants.'
- Inch - '... the people are greatly oppressed by inundations of poor vagrants from Ireland. The great road from Portpatrick to Dumfries passes through this parish and is constantly swarming with Irish beggars.'
- Leswalt - 'Few of the natives of this county are in very indigent circumstances but we have constant supplies from Ireland.... Every week brings fresh cargoes to Portpatrick and they are permitted to traverse the country at large.'
- Wigton - 'The population of the parish within the last 40 years has greatly increased.... None of this belongs to the country part of the parish.... It belongs wholly to the town ... [and] has arisen chiefly from the influx of people from Ireland ... of whom 100 at present reside within the town of Wigton.'
- Kirkinner - 'There are Irish families about twenty-seven and nine or ten single men, employed as day labourers.'
- Mochrum - 'No country parish in the county has increased so much in population as Mochrum for these last 20 years ... almost entirely on Sir William Maxwell's estate who to effect improvements, had occasion to employ a number of additional labourers and these happening to consist mostly of young, stout, newly-married Irishmen, this prolific race soon contributed largely to the human flock.'

⁷Statistical Account of the Parishes of Scotland 1791-99.

There may, of course, have been Irish in the other parishes, where no mention is made of them, but, if there were, presumably they constituted a less severe problem. A note written by the Schoolmaster of Kirkmaiden,⁸ referring to circa 1700, is interesting in this connection:

About sixty or seventy years ago, so rare an occurrence was the sight of an Irishman, as I am informed by an old residenter, that he with some others ran between 6 or 7 miles one morning to see one.

In the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright only two references are made in The Statistical Account to the presence of the Irish - Crossmichael and Lochrutton; both of these parishes are on 'the great road', mentioned by the minister of Inch, to Dumfries:

Crossmichael - 'The little distance from this place and Ireland has induced many of the needy and forward adventurers of that country to migrate in a state of great poverty and ignorance.'

Lochrutton - 'Scarcely a day passes that the parish is not visited by vagrant poor from neighbouring parishes but chiefly from Ireland.'

Again we can conclude that there may have been Irish in other parishes but not constituting a problem big enough to call for special mention.

⁸Statistical, Historical & Miscellaneous Memoranda of Matters connected with the Parish of Kirkmaiden (written by hand in 1854 and available in Wigtown County Library, Stranraer).

Nineteenth Century

When we come to the nineteenth century we find there was a rapid increase in the numbers of Irish coming to Galloway and by the middle of the century the whole situation had radically changed. In his book 'The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845', Handley quotes the testimony of the Rev. Richard Sinot who was parish priest for Wigtownshire and the western part of Kirkcudbrightshire in the early part of the nineteenth century:

The Irish are scattered over the whole of Wigtownshire and western part of Kirkcudbrightshire; not so many in the latter.... There is not a parish in Wigtownshire in which there are not Irish; in fact, they form a large part of the labouring population of the county both in country and town.⁹

The editor of the Dumfries Courier (December 1822), under the heading 'The Irish in the West of Scotland' writing of the conditions in which the Irish were living, particularly on the line between Portpatrick and Glen Luce, said:

... the sheds or huts in question, are, almost without single exception, inhabited by Irish emigrés - a class of labourers, who, in proportion to its population, abound more in Wigtownshire than in any other county in Scotland ... the shire of Wigtown may be described as almost one third Irish....

The Kirkmaiden Schoolmaster, already referred to, says of the situation currently in his parish (1854):

... there is, in this parish, an influx of Irish pressing on the means of subsistence and submitting to a mode of living to which our native inhabitants cannot bring their minds.

⁹Handley, J.E., The Irish in Scotland 1798-1845, (Cork: 1945), p. 76.

Twelve of the seventeen parish ministers of Wigtownshire report in the New Statistical Account (1849)¹⁰ of the 'Irish situation' in their parishes. In the town of Wigtown, the complaint was that 'the great influx of Irish labourers and vagrants operates heavily on the poor's fund.' In Kirkcinner it was 'that Irish labourers can subsist on much less than the Scotch and in all cases of competition for work are sure to underbid them.' Sorbie confirms this capacity for low subsistence and under-cutting of wages and further speaks of 'settlement' - 'a considerable number of Irish families have settled in the parish.' The situation is that the Irish have now come to stay.

Stoneykirk speaks of efforts by the heritors 'to check such ingress' and reports some success between 1821 and 1831. Kirkcolm says that 'nearly one-third of the labouring population is Irish or descended from Irish.' The Whithorn minister is clearly upset at the situation in his parish and reports another sort of reaction to the incursion - 'Our native labourers and artisans with their little property and many virtues are drifting across the Atlantic, and Ireland from her exhaustless stores is supplying their place.' The Kirkmaiden Schoolmaster adds his comment on the exit of natives - 'all our young men, at least all who can find the means, either emigrate or betake themselves to sea; meanwhile the girls are compelled to take Pat as a partner for life.'

¹⁰New Statistical Account of the Parishes of Scotland 1845-49.

There is also mention of Orangeism and rioting between Orangemen and Catholic Irishmen. Handley¹¹ says:

... An early centre of Orangeism was Stranraer and about 1820 its influence had been extended east to Newtown-Stewart.... Bickering between Orange and Catholic immigrants in Galloway flared up occasionally into faction fights. In April 1823 Catholics from Creetown, Wigtown and Gatehouse-of-Fleet marched against the Orangemen at Newtown-Stewart on a Fair Day. Scores of armed combatants fought for hours while business was suspended and people sought safety on the outskirts of the town. The fight ended in victory for the Orangemen who held a triumphal parade in the streets on the following day.

Across the Cree the situation was not so acute although it was not unaffected. In 1841 the Census showed the number of Irish-born in Wigtownshire as 5,772 (or 14.7 percent of the total population) and in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright as 1,504 (or 3.7 percent).

In his account of the history of Urr parish Frew¹² describes the situation as it was then -

The increased demand for labour occasioned by the public works going on in the district and the importance that had been given to agriculture by the French wars brought many people to the villages, even all the way from Ireland, for whom accommodation had to be found and other necessities of life provided ... most of the incomers hailed from Ireland and, according to the traditions of this district, were endowed more liberally with the vices than the virtues of their nation.

It would be surprising if Urr had been the only parish so affected and the presence of Catholic families in other parishes, as reported by

¹¹Handley, J.E., op. cit., ref. 9 above, pp. 284-85.

¹²Frew, D., The Parish of Urr - A History, (Dalbeattie: 1909), pp. 87 and 105.

Stewartry parish ministers in the New Statistical Account are significant.

The significance is best described in a Roman Catholic pamphlet:

... throughout the ages there grew up in Dumfries and district a great Catholic tradition based upon the Catholic mansions and their congregations. In all other parts of modern Galloway no such congregations were anywhere to be found. Out of the whole of our diocese only the south-east corner had any Catholicism at all. The picture changed with the coming of the Irish shortly before 1800. Gradually all the southern parts of Scotland filled up with workers from Ireland. The first great flood of them came after the Irish rebellion of 1798 when thousands fled from their homes and sought refuge in Scotland. The shortest sea-crossing led them inevitably into Galloway where they found employment as agricultural labourers in such numbers that it was later estimated that nine out of ten farm workers in the district were of Irish birth though not necessarily Catholic. This invasion affected all lowland Scotland and gave to Dumfries especially to the¹³ Bridgend of Maxwelltown its first colony of 'low Irish'....

This account, taken along with that of Rev. Richard Sinot (see above), makes it clear that while all Irish in Galloway were not Roman Catholic, all Roman Catholics were Irish. The New Statistical Account gives some figures for Roman Catholics in Kirkcudbrightshire - Anwoth (20), Borgue (12), Kirkcudbright (200), Girthon (23), Twynholm (34) ('The Roman Catholics are mostly of Irish descent'), Balmaclellan (5 or 6 R.C. families), Kells (10) ('Irish Roman Catholics'), Minnigaff (81), Creetown (27 families), Kelton (148), Balmaghie (112), Crossmichael (3 or 4 families), Buittle (94), Kirkbean (2), New Abbey (67), Kirkpatrick Durham (32), Lochrutton (9).

¹³ Story of St. Andrew's Dumfries, Souvenir Pamphlet (Dumfries: 1964), p. 16.

The peak years of migration were in the mid-forties when the famine in Ireland was at its height. Brinley and Thomas¹⁴ in their Migration and Economic Growth say:

The number of Irish migrating to England and Wales in the decade 1841-51 would accordingly be about 274,000 while Scotland must have received 100,000 ... we calculate an inflow in the decade 1851-61 of 178,000 Irish-born into England and Wales and 37,000 in Scotland.

Who Were the Irish?

Who were the Irish who came to Scotland during the nineteenth century? There is ample evidence that they came, but less, by far, as to their place of origin in Ireland. For the purpose of this particular study interest is in who were the Irish who came to Galloway.

Johnston¹⁵ in his 'Harvest Migration from 19th Century Ireland' speaks of the sort of difficulty which the researcher encounters in trying to answer the question:

... before the coming of the railway most workers walked to Eastern Ireland and sometimes took casual work there before making their way to Britain, thus producing a possible source of misunderstanding when they were asked where they came from at their ports of departure.

My own researching led me to the Scottish Census reports in Register House, Edinburgh. The Report for 1841 gives information with

¹⁴Brinley and Thomas, Migration & Economic Growth (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 72.

¹⁵Johnston, J.H., "Harvest Migration from 19th Century Ireland", Trans. Inst. British Geographers, Vol. 41 (1967), p. 105.

regard to who were born in Ireland (the first census to do so) but does not differentiate as to birthplace in Ireland. The 1851 Report, however, which did not require differentiation either has sufficient gratuitous information, added by zealous enumerators, to make analysis profitable. This information had to be sifted with great care, as the handwriting is not always legible; place-names are sometimes written as they sounded to the enumerator's ear and sometimes even written in abbreviation; Irish place-names are duplicated or triplicated and there may be doubt as to whether it was the place of that name in several counties. However, after all these difficulties were recognised, and any about which there was doubt eliminated, I was still able to produce the information recorded on the charts in Appendix III. Incidentally, as the 1851 Census was the first to be made following the peak years of immigration it is particularly helpful that this information should be obtained from that Census. From it we know where 743 of the Irish-born, living in Galloway, at the time of the 1851 Census, were born.*

*Several other facts may be drawn, of which four are:

- i) of the 743, 384 were born in Down (with Belfast) or 51 per cent
- ii) the birthplaces of the rest were scattered over much of the rest of Ireland
- iii) in Wigtownshire less than 3 per cent were born south of Ulster but in the Stewartry 40 per cent were born south of Ulster
- iv) 13 in the combined parishes of Colvend, Southwick and Kirkgunzeon were born in County Clare; 34 in New Abbey (which included Kirkbean) were born in Sligo.

The pressure of the Irish decreased after the famine years ended but while it was at its height Wigtownshire, at least, was apparently in turmoil. One may ask was nothing done to prevent the Irish swarming in: it seems, very little! Ireland and Scotland were, of course, both part of Great Britain and the Irish were only moving to another part of the same country. The heritors of Stoneykirk alone are reported as taking action. However, if it was not possible to keep them out there was legal means of ejecting the most troublesome once they were in and that was by Sheriff's warrant: "... in the eight years from 1845-53 the total number of immigrants removed to Ireland by Sheriff's warrant was 5,087."¹⁶ Of course, this applies to Scotland as a whole. There was, also, another, and much larger, contingent who went home voluntarily. In the same eight year period 41,375 returned to Ireland of their own free will.

So were some of the Irish disposed of but those who remained were considerable. The annual inflow decreased as the decades passed until by 1880 it was half of what it had been at its peak. Seasonal migration continued until the second world war, although at a greatly reduced level and most came only for the harvest and returned home. Those who did not displace the native population became absorbed in it: there was a 'Wee Dublin' in Castle Douglas and a 'Little Ireland' in Stranraer. After 1841 Scottish-born Irish were counted as Scots.

¹⁶Scottish Poor Laws, Their History, Policy & Operation
(Glasgow 1892), pp. 190-91.

The Search for Work & the Galloway Terrain

The Irish came to Galloway looking for work. They had to walk where they went and naturally stopped when the first work offered. The more who came the further they had to go. The work possibilities of the Rhinns were first explored, then the Machars (map p. 339). Pioneers were easily absorbed but as the numbers swelled, first Bladenoch and then Cree had to be crossed.

Cree estuary is tidal, exposing treacherous mud-flats at low tide, and the only safe crossing is at Newtown Stewart where the townsfolk did not encourage loitering. Across Cree there were two possible routes and neither prospect cheered the travellers. To the south-east was a rough hill-road over the Corse of Slakes and to the north-east a long weary moor road by Clattering-Shaws to the Ken & Dee crossings at New Galloway (maps pp. 51/53). The reward was the farm lands of Anwoth & Borgue at the end of the first and of Kirkpatrick Durham & Urr at the second.

The next wave spread out through the Stewartry. The travellers without any other information than rumour that work lay ahead, moved in this or that direction and the formidable slopes of Criffel and then the wide waters of Nith came as one unpleasant surprise on another. Supply and demand interacted; each parish absorbed such quota as it required and the surplus had to move on to the big town of Dumfries and beyond to Nithsdale.

The linguistic aspects of the Irish in Galloway will be dealt with in the analysis (see pages 230 et seq.).

APPENDIX I

THE UNDERTAKERS

(Compiled from Hanna, The Great Plantation, Hill, The Montgomery Mss., Perceval-Maxwell, The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I, Moody, The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41).

Sir Robert Maclellan (or McClelland) laird of Bomby, in Kirkcudbrightshire, was gentleman of the bed-chamber to both James I and Charles I and attended both when they visited Scotland in 1617 and 1633 respectively; on the latter occasion he was enobled as Lord Kirkcudbright. He was one of 9 Chief Scottish Undertakers in 1610 - although probably not more than 18 years of age at the time. In 1616 he disposed of the Donegal estates he had been assigned to John Murray of Broughton, later Lord Annandale, and accepted lease of two proportions in Londonderry, making his permanent residence on one of them. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Hugh Montgomery, acquiring, as dowry, estates in Down where he introduced Scottish settlers.

The Ordinary Undertakers

Patrick Vans of Lybrack in the parish of Mochrum, Wigtownshire, second son of Sir Patrick Vans of Barrenbarroch, sometime ambassador to Denmark. Bodley's Report (1613) recorded of his development efforts - 'no buildings, but thoroughly inhabited'.

George Murray of Broughton in the parishes of Whithorn and Sorbie, in Wigtownshire, married Isabel, a sister of Patrick Vans. Bodley's Report said - 'undertaker present with his wife in a slate house'; died 1613.

Sir Patrick McKee of Larg in the parish of Minnigaff, in Kirkcudbrightshire. Bodley's Report said - 'the proportion well supplied with both men & livestock; stone & clay house on an inaccessible rock'.

Alexander Dunbar of Egirness in the parish of Sorbie, in Wigtownshire. Bodley's Report - 'land well-inhabited; materials being prepared for the restoration of an existing castle & bawn'.

William Stewart of Mains in Kirkcudbrightshire, brother of Lord Garlies and cousin of the King. Bodley's Report - 'proportion well inhabited and building in progress'.

Alexander Cunningham of Powton in Sorbie parish. Bodley's Report - 'nothing done, property let to an Englishman'.

James McCulloch of Drummorell in parish of Mochrum. Bodley's Report - '3 or 4 tenants'.

(these 7 ordinary-undertakers had all obtained 1000 to 1500 acres in the barony of Boylaugh & Banagh; they were all dispossessed by John Murray, brother of George, by 1613, on the King's orders).

John Dunbar, the 8th Galloway ordinary-undertaker and probably grandson of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, was assigned 1000 acres at Dromcro in the barony of Magheraboy in Fermanagh; he seems to have been the most successful of the eight. Pynnar's Report (1619) says of his development - '60 British men, 2 houses built (one of stone); Dunbar resident with a family which was a great comfort to his own and his neighbours' tenants.' In Pynnar's 2nd Report (1622) he says - '17 British families; despite decline in the number of tenants land well-cultivated.' By May 1623 Dunbar was knighted, possibly for his success as a planter.

APPENDIX II

(from the Minnigaff Parish Records 1690-1750)

June 14th, 1702: A young woman, Mary Redmond, was charged with witchcraft. In her defence she said 'she wold do what she saw done in her grandfather's hous in Irland only when something was missing' (i.e. 'turning the riddle').

December 18th, 1720: There is reference to a 'Mr Jo Dunn' who is described as 'a distressed stranger from Irland' and was 'allowed a crown'. It would seem that 'Mr Dunn' was regarded somewhat differently from the other indigents.

January 15th, 1721: 'Jo Stewart from Irland recommended to charity was allowed eighteen pence'.

January 25th, 1727: 'A poor woman from Irland with two or three small children is allowed a shilling'.

February 16th, 1729: '... a groat to a poor man from Irland having testimonials'.

March 2nd, 1729: 'A poor man from Irland allowed sixpence.'

There are also several references to fornication cases in which girls from Ireland were involved.

Appendix III a Birthplaces of Irishborn
Extracted from 1851 Census
Wigtownshire

APPENDIX III a

BIRTHPLACES OF IRISHBORN
 Extracted from 1851 Census

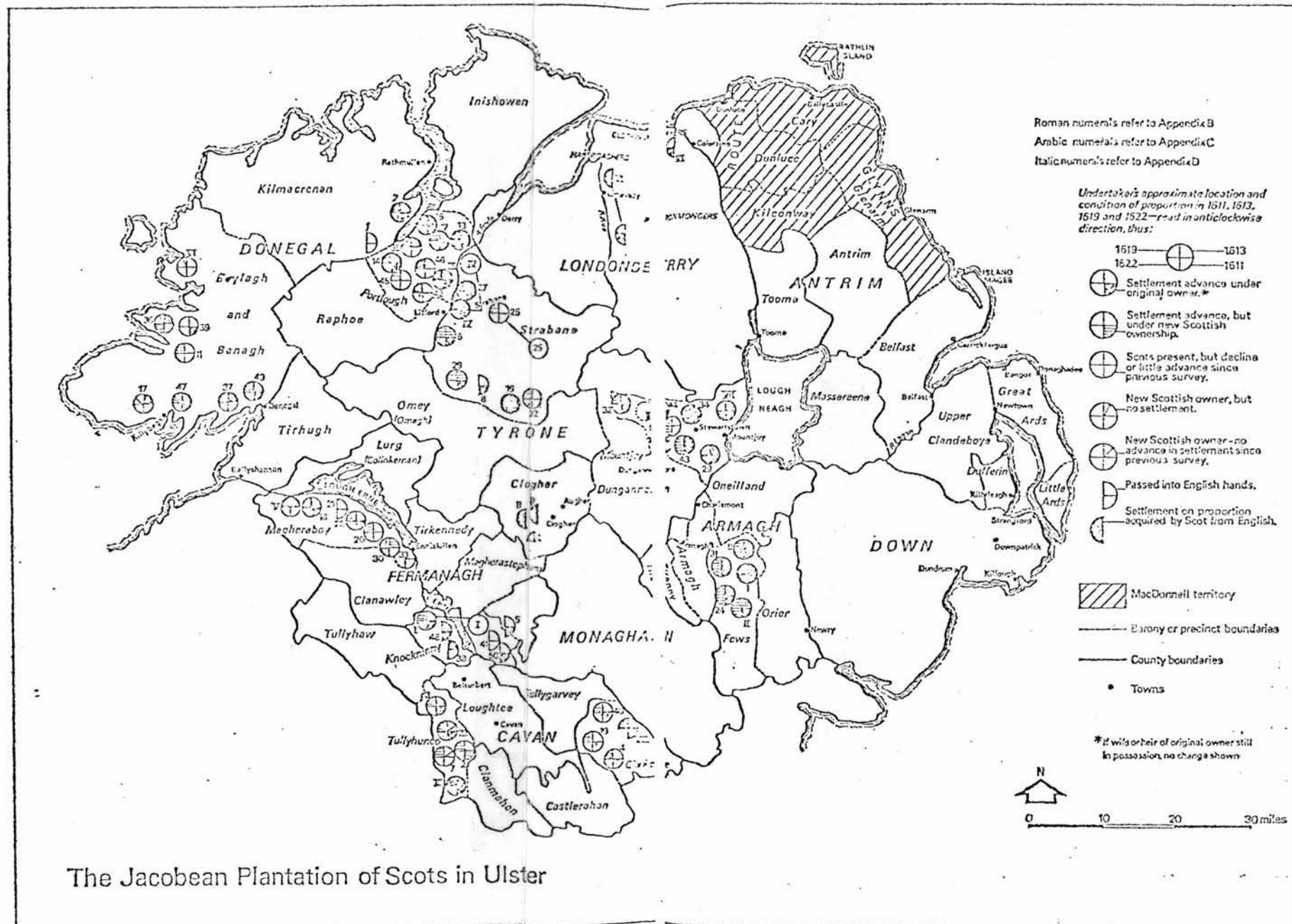
WIGTOWNSHIRE	DOWN	BELFAST	ANTRIM	DERRY	DONEGAL	TYRONE	FERMANAGH	MONAGHAN	ARMAGH	LEITRIM	LOUTH	CAVAN	LONGFORD	ROSCOMMON	SLIGO	MAYO	GALWAY	MEATH	WESTMEATH	CLARE	LIMERICK	KERRY	DUBLIN	KILDARE	CARLOW	WEXFORD	KINGS CO.
Leswalt	1	1			2	11	1								1												17
Stranraer	97	18	1	9			2		17										2								146
Portpatrick	27			9					3																		39
Old Luce	35							3	5			1															44
Wigtown	49		18	3	4			22	24				1	3			1										125
Kirkinner/ Sorbie	14		1		1	1	1	2	1																		21
Inch	17																										17
Kirkmaiden	24							2	6																		32
Kirkcowan	34		20		1	2		1	1									1			1	1					62
Whithorn	4		4			2			4							2						1					17
Glasserton/ Mochrum	8			1	1	1	4	1																			16
	310	19	44	22	9	17	8	31	61			1	1	3	1	2	1	1	2		1	2					536

Appendix III b Birthplaces of Irishborn
Extracted from 1851 Census
Stewartry of Kirkcudbright

BIRTHPLACES OF IRISHBORN
Extracted from 1851 Census

STEWARTRY OF KIRKCUDBRIGHT	DOWN	BELFAST	ANTRIM	DERRY	DONEGAL	TYRONE	FERMANAGH	MONAGHAN	ARMAGH	LEITRIM	LOUTH	CAVAN	LONGFORD	ROSCOMMON	SLIGO	MAYO	GALWAY	MEATH	WESTMEATH	CLARE	LIMERICK	KERRY	DUBLIN	KILDARE	CARLOW	WEXFORD	KINGS CO.	
Kirkcudbright	20	10	5	3	7	12		1				1	1		3			1	1		1			1	2	1	1	71
Twynholm		1		1																								2
Balmaghie/ Tongland	2			1	1																							4
Minnigaff						4																						4
Colvend/ Southwick/ Kirkgunzeon	4		1	1			1	1	1									1	4	13								27
Crossmichael/ Parton	2		1					1							1								1					6
Balmaclellan/ Dalry	1					2	1	1	1									1			1		1					9
Girthon	1			1							1																	3
Buittle/ Rerrick	1			1		2			1														1					6
Kelton	10	3	1			3		3	5	3		1		1				2	1		2							35
New Abbey									2					3	34		1											40
	41	14	8	8	8	23	2	7	10	3	1	2	1	4	38		1	5	6	13	4		3	1	2	1	1	207

Appendix IV The Jacobean
Plantation of
Scots in Ulster



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Responses Obtained in 55 Items

- i) figures in left-hand column refer to parishes
 - a. because Stranraer is the largest centre of population it has been treated as a parish and numbered 6 - traditionally it was divided between Leswalt and Inch parishes; to offset this change, the parishes of Parton & Crossmichael have been jointly numbered 26
 - b. Isle of Whithorn village has been included in Glasserton parish instead of Whithorn as this is the ecclesiastical arrangement and the minister of Glasserton & Isle of Whithorn was one of our most interested contacts
- ii) letters within parishes refer to primary informants
- iii) map showing where responses were obtained - see page 372

[smb = step-mother's-breath]

Item 1 cold, dry, east wind

- 1 A snell: blackeast B black east C thin: eastern D smb
- 2 A nor-easter B nil C nil D black-east
- 3 A nor-east: grey easterlin B nil C snell D black-east
- 4 A nil B, C nil D black-east: bask
- 5 A grey easterly B snell C nil D snell E, F nil
- 6 A blightin B foenerin C snell D peeler: snell
E snell F snell-east G snell
- 7 A black east: dirty B black C snell D grey east
E hungry-easterly F, G, H nil
- 8 A basky: smb B nil C snell: piskie pingie
D basky: foenerin
- 9 A snell B black-east C nil D wutherin
- 10 A snell: wutherin B snell C snell: basky D basky: smb
E nil F bask: grey-east
- 11 A black-east B smb C bitin D wutherin E nil
F wutherin: smb: snell: foenerin G black-east
- 12 A snell: smb B black C black-east D snell E snell
F snell: black-east G nil H wutherin
- 13 A snell B pisky C snell D wutherin E black-east
- 14 A wutherin B snell C snell: basky: pisky: smb
D snell: bask E bask F bask G nil
- 15 A snell: black-east B snell: peeler: foenerin C wutherin
D nil

- 16 A snell B nil C foonerin D baskin E snell
- 17 A nil B bask C nil D bask E waslin F nil
- 18 A snell B basky C basky: pisky: snell: bask
- 19 A basky: wutherin B nil C bask D bask E bask
F nil G bask
- 20 A bask B bask C nil D bask E nil F bask G nil
- 21 A bask B bask C nil D bask
- 22 A barren: blashy B bask: snell: smb C bask D bask
E nil
- 23 A snell B barren: snell C bask: bitin: wutherin
D snell: bask E bask
- 24 A bask B bask C bask D bask
- 25 A bask: lazy B bask C bask D bask E snell
- 26 A bask B blashy C bask D bask E bask
- 27 A bask B bask C bask
- 28 A bask: smb B nil
- 29 A bask B, C wutherin
- 30 A bask B bask C snell D baskin E snell
- 31 A nil B bask: bitin: snell C snell D bask: wutherin
E nil F bask G bask H bask
- 32 A bask B bask C bask D bask
- 33 A bask B bask C bask D bask E bask F snell: bask
G bask H snell: bask I bask
- 34 A bask B bask C bask D nil E snell F bask
G bask H bask I bask J snell K nil L bask
M bask

- 35 A snell: bask B snell C bask D bask: birsel
- 36 A bask B bask C bask D snell E bask
- 37 A bask B bask C bask D nil E bask F bask
 G bask H nil I lazy: bask
- 38 A bask B smb C bask D bask
- 39 A snell: bask B bitin C snell
- 40 A bask B bask C bask D bask
- 41 A snell-easter B snell C nil
- 42 A snell B nil C nil D nil
- 43 A bask B lazy C nil
- 44 A nil B snell C nil

[smb = step-mother's-breath]

Item 2 cutting, north wind

- 1 A smb B snell C snell D nil
- 2 A, B nil C nil D nil
- 3 A smb B nil C wutherin D smb
- 4 A nil B smb C nil D nil
- 5 A nil B smb C smb D, E, F nil
- 6 A foonerin B smb C nil D bitin: snell E bitin: blae
F bitin: nor-easter
- 7 A nil B snell: wutherin C nil D snell E bitin
F, G, H nil
- 8 A smb B nil C wutherin: smb D snell
- 9 A wutherin: foonerin: smb B smb C wutherin D snell
- 10 A snell B wutherin C nil D snell E foonerin
F bitin
- 11 A snell: smb B nil C snell: smb D smb: wutherin
E nil F bitin
- 12 A yell B bitin C wutherin: smb D nil E snell
F bitin G smb H nil
- 13 A bitin B pisky C nil D snell E bitin
- 14 A smb B snell C smb D snell: founerin E snell: lazy
F smb: foonerin G bitin
- 15 A snell B birsy C smb: foonerin D smb: foonerin
- 16 A bitin B nil C smb D nor-wastert E nil
- 17 A blae B, C, D, E nil F bitin

- 18 A, B nil C snell: bitin: chitterin
- 19 A snell B snell: foonerin: smb C bitter D snell
E snell F nil G snell
- 20 A snell B snell C bitin D snell: lazy E snell
F snell G bitin
- 21 A nil B lazy C bitin D snell
- 22 A snell: foonerin B snell: bitin C snell D, E nil
- 23 A bitin B snell C bitin: snell D snell
- 24 A snell B snell: smb C snell: smb D nil
- 25 A snell: bitin B bitin C snell: peelin D snell
- 26 A snell B snell C bitin D bitin: snell E smb
- 27 A lazy B snell C snell: lazy: smb
- 28 A snell B nil
- 29 A snell B nil C snell: bitin: lazy
- 30 A snell B snell C lazy D nil E snell: bitin: lazy
- 31 A hashy: peelin B snell C bitin D bitin: foonerin
E nil F bitin G lazy H cal'
- 32 A snell B snell C snell D snell
- 33 A snell B bitin C snell D snell E snell
F lazy: smb G smb: bitin H nil I lazy: bitin
- 34 A nil B snell C snell D, E nil F snell G bitin
H snell I snell J nil K nil L, M nil
- 35 A snell B bask C nil D thin
- 36 A snell B snell C snell D snell E bitin
- 37 A nil B snell C snell D smb E snell F snell
G nil H nil I snell

- 38 A snell B snell C bitin D snell
- 39 A lazy B nil C nil
- 40 A snell B foonerin C smb D snell
- 41 A nil B smb C blashy
- 42 A nil B nil C smb: wutherin: foonerin D snell: smb:
foonerin
- 43 A snell B snell: smb C nil
- 44 A, B, C nil D sherp

[smb = step-mother's-breath]

Item 5 cold and harsh

- 1 A bleak B bitter C birsie D smb
- 2 A raw B snell C nil D snell
- 3 A nil B snell C bleak D snell
- 4 A blear B, C nil D blae
- 5 A nil B snell C, D nil E blear F nil
- 6 A snell B, C foonerin D blashy E bitter F caller
G snell
- 7 A bleak B blae: bleak C nil D snell E bitter:
bleak: snell F snell G, H nil
- 8 A snell B nil C snell D bitin
- 9 A blear: wutherin B nil C raw: blae: snell D smb
- 10 A blashy B bitter: blustery C nil D snell: blashy
E nil F blae: foonerin
- 11 A blashy B blae: blear C raw: coarse: gurley
D blear: blistery E nil F snell G nil
- 12 A blashy B raw C snell D nil E blashy F blae
G foonerin: wutherin: snell H blear
- 13 A blae B pisky C nil D stairvin E nil
- 14 A bask B gurley C nil D dour E raw F nil
- 15 A brash: smb B pisky: snell C snell: wutherin
D snell: birsy
- 16 A foonerin B nil C snell: raw D foonerin: coarse:
bruckle: blashy E bitin

- 17 A bleak: snell B nil C snell D snell: foonerin:
coorse E nil F raw
- 18 A snell B nil C foonerin: bleak
- 19 A blashy: wutherin B blashy C blashy D, E nil
F snell G nil
- 20 A, B nil C dreich: foonerin D hard: blashy E snell
F blustery: gurley G founerin
- 21 A nil B blashy C snell: blustery: blashy D hard: blashy
- 22 A wearsh: blae: blashy B bask: coorse C dour D snell
E nil
- 23 A raw B bleak: snell: bask C bask: blashy D warsh: snell
- 24 A bitin: smb B blashy: foonerin C raw: blashy D coorse
- 25 A blashy B snell C nil D raw E nil
- 26 A blustery: wutherin B bleak: foonderin: wutherin
C bitter: snell D raw: blashy: foonerin E blistery: blae
- 27 A snell B bitter C wersh
- 28 A blashy B snell
- 29 A foonerin B nil C snell
- 30 A snell: blashy: blae B blashy: smb C nil D bask: blashy
E nil
- 31 A nil B foonert: blashy C nil D snell E bitter:
blashy F raw: snell H yell: snell
- 32 A snell B blashy C snell: bitin D blashy
- 33 A bitter B snell: blashy C blashy D snell E snell
F foonerin: blashy G snell: blashy H foonerin I snell

- 34 A bask B snell C snell D coorse E smb F ra':
 snell G snell: coorse H dour I blashy: foonrin
 J coorse: smb K raw L blashy: blustery M nil
- 35 A dour B blashy: birselen C yell D birselen: blashy
- 36 A blashy: snell B blear: coorse C snell: blashy
 D nil G snell
- 37 A blashy B, C nil D dour E blashy: blustery
 F snell: blashy G nil H nil I blashy
- 38 A blashy B coorse C snell D raw
- 39 A bask B snell C bask: bitin: bitter
- 40 A blashy B coorse C, D nil
- 41 A nil B dour: snell C snell: blashy
- 42 A nil B snell C snell D nil
- 43 A bitin B bitin: snell C snell D snell
- 44 A snell B nil C nil D snell

Item 6 overcast and threatening

- 1 A lowerin B nil C overcast D nil
- 2 A nil B glowerin C,D nil
- 3 A overcastin B lowerin C nil D lowerin
- 4 A,B,C,D nil
- 5 A lowerin doon B lowerin C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A lowerin B lowerin C nil D nil E lowerin
F lowerin G nil
- 7 A musky B nil C drumlie: lowerin D lowerin
E glowerin F,G,H nil
- 8 A lowerin B lowerin C lowerin D lowerin
- 9 A drumlie: glowerin B lowerin C brewin up: overcastin
- 10 A lowerin B overcastin C lowerin D lowerin: maskin
E nil F murky
- 11 A murky B nil C nil D overcastin E nil
F lowerin: glowerin G murky: fillin up
- 12 A lowerin B nil C musky D nil E overcastin
F overcastin G overcastin H nil
- 13 A overcastin B lowerin: murky C nil D glowerin
E overcastin: lowerin
- 14 A nil B lowerin C nil D lowerin E lowerin
F lowerin G lourin
- 15 A lowerin B overcastin C lowerin D lowrin
- 16 A overcastin B nil C lowerin: murky D lowerin E nil
- 17 A musky B lowerin C lowerin D drummly: fillin-up
E nil F lourin

- 18 A dour B lowerin C lowerin
- 19 A overcastin B lowerin: brewin-up C lowerin
D lowerin: dour E,F,G nil
- 20 A nil B lowerin C overcastin: brewin-up D gloorin
E lowerin F overcastin G lowerin
- 21 A nil B lowerin: it's makin rain C brewin up: getherin up
D lowerin: overcastin
- 22 A getherin B low'r'in C lowrin D,E nil
- 23 A lowerin B lowrin C brewin D lowrin
- 24 A kin o' thraw on: brewin up B o'ercast C lowerin
D nil
- 25 A fillin up B lowerin C lowerin D nil E lowerin
- 26 A overcast B lowerin C fillin up D low'r'in
E the rain's brewin
- 27 A o'ercast B lowerin C low'r'in
- 28 A brewin B murky
- 29 A overcast B lowrin C overcastin
- 30 A murky B lowerin C lowerin D brewin up: fillin up
E overcastin
- 31 A nil B drab C,D nil E overcastin F murky
G low'r'in H overcastin
- 32 A gurlly B nil C lowrin D loorie
- 33 A brewin B lowrin C,D,E nil F lowrin, fillin up
G murky H lowrin

- 34 A lowerin B low'rin C lowrin D nil E oorkissin
 F glowerin: lowrin G bankin up H nil I brewin up
 J nil K murkie L nil M dour
- 35 A murky B lappered C nil D dour
- 36 A low'rin B nil C overcast D loomin E nil
- 37 A lowerin B lowerin C lowtherin D lowerin E lowry
 F lowrin G,H nil I lowrin
- 38 A owercastin B lowerin: dour C lowerin D lowerin
- 39 A darknin B,C nil
- 40 A lowrin B nil C lowrin D lowrin
- 41 A nil B lowerin C lowerin
- 42 A nil B lowrin C,D nil
- 43 A nil B lowrin; dour C dour
- 44 A lourin B lourin C nil

Item 7 raining slightly

- 1 A smirrin B nil C smirr D nil
- 2 A smirr B smirrin C nil D smurrin
- 3 A smurrin B smurr C smurr D smurr
- 4 A, B, C nil D smurr
- 5 A smurr B, C, D, E, F nil
- 6 A smurr B smirrin C smurrin D smur E smurrin
F smir G nil
- 7 A smirr B smur C smirr D droky E smirrin
F smurrin G smurrin H nil
- 8 A smirr B smirrin C smurr D nil
- 9 A smirrin B nil C smurr D smir
- 10 A smirren B smirren C smirren D smirrin E nil
F smirren
- 11 A spittin B smurrin C nil D smurrin E nil
F smurrin G nil
- 12 A smirr B drochy C nil D smurrin E smurrin
F nil G smir H drookie
- 13 A smur B drochy C smurrin D smurrin E drochy
- 14 A smurrin B smurrin C smurr D smirrin E smirr:
drochy F smirr G smurr
- 15 A nil B smirrin C smurry D nil
- 16 A, B nil C nil D scotch mist E scotch-mist
- 17 A smurr B, C nil D droch E skiff F smirrin
- 18 A smirrin B smirrin C smirrin

- 19 A smirrin B smurr C smirrin D smir E smirr
F smurr G smurrin
- 20 A smurrin B nil C smurry D smurrin E smurrin
F smirrin G nil
- 21 A smurr B smurr C nil D smurr
- 22 A smurrin B smirrin C smirrin D smurr E dribblin
- 23 A smurr B smurr C smurrin D smurr
- 24 A smoorin D smurr C smur D smirr
- 25 A smirr B smirr C smirrin D spittin E smur
- 26 A smurrin B smirrin C smirrin D drachy: smurren
E scotch mist
- 27 A smurrin B smurrin C smurrin
- 28 A, B nil
- 29 A smurrin B smirrin: drochy C smirr
- 30 A smirr: drochy B smurr C nil D smurrin E smurr
- 31 A A wee smurr B smurr C smur E smirrin F smurr
G smurrin
- 32 A smirr B smurrin C smirrin D smurr
- 33 A smurrin B smirr C Smirr D nil E smurrin
F smirr G smirrin H nil I nil
- 34 A smurrin B smirrin C smirrin D smirrin E nil
F smurrin G saliverin I, J, K nil L smirr M nil
- 35 A smurrin B, C nil D smurr
- 36 A smurrin B smurr C smurrin D smurrin E smirrin
- 37 A smirr B smirr C smirr D scotch mist E smurrin
F smurren G, H, I nil

- 38 A smurr B smirr C smirr D scotch mist
- 39 A smirrin B smirren C smurrin
- 40 A smurrin B smirrin C smirrin D smurrin
- 41 A smirr B smur C smirr: scotch mist
- 42 A smurrin B smirrin C, D nil
- 43 A scotch mist B smirrin C smurr D smirrin
- 44 A smirrin B smirrin C nil D smirr

Item 8 raining heavily

- 1 A lashin B poorin C bucketin D lashin
- 2 A lummin B blatterin C plumpin D teemin: lashin
- 3 A blatterin: plumpin B blatterin: plumpin C blatterin:
plumpin D lashin: plumpin
- 4 A poorin B lashin C teemin D poorin
- 5 A plumpin: a blatter B blatterin C blatterin D teemin
E nil F nil
- 6 A lashin B plumpin: blatterin: teemin C lashin
D plumpin: lashin E plumpin F doon poor: on fa': blashin
G lashin: poorin: peltin: plumpin
- 7 A plumpin B peltin: poorin C poorin D lashin
E batterin F lashin G plumpin H poorin
- 8 A teemin B teemin C lashin D poorin
- 9 A poorin B teemin C lashin D poorin
- 10 A lashin B timmin C poorin D poorin E doonpoor
F lashin: doonpoor
- 11 A teemin B,C nil D poorin E lashin F lashin G nil
- 12 A lashin B poorin C blashin: teemin D plumpin: lashin
E poorin F teemin G lashin: poorin H doonpoor
- 13 A poorin: teemin B poorin: lashin C timin D teemin
E whale water
- 14 A lashin B poorin: doonfa' C poorin D poorin
E poorin F poorin G nil
- 15 A poorin B poorin: teemin C lashin D teemin: poorin

- 16 A poorin B nil C lashin D poorin E poorin
- 17 A blatterin B poorin C teemin D lashin E nil
F onding: poorin
- 18 A nil B teemin C poorin: lashin
- 19 A poorin B lashin C nil D teemin E lashin
F poorin G nil
- 20 A lashin B peltin doon C teemin D lashin E lashin
F teemin G lashin
- 21 A nil B teemin C poorin D teemin
- 22 A poorin B poorin C peltin D poorin E lashin
- 23 A teemin B poorin C lashin: bucketin D teemin
- 24 A blashy B doonpoor C doonpoor: teemin D teemin
- 25 A doonpoor B teemin C poorin: bucketin D lashin
E lashin: teemin
- 26 A poorin B poorin C lashin D plumpin: doonpoor
E lashin: doon-poor
- 27 A poorin: teemin B teemin C doon-poor
- 28 A lashin B poorin C teemin: doonpoor
- 29 A poorin B teemin C lashin
- 30 A poorin: lashin B poorin C doonpoor D teemin: lashin
E teemin: plumpin
- 31 A teemin B poorin C lashin D nil E poorin: teemin:
lashin F poorin G teemin: blashin H teemin
- 32 A teemin B lashin C lashin D teemin

- 33 A doonpoor B poorin C nil D poorin E poorin
 F poorin G poorin: teemin H poorin: lashin: teemin
 I poorin
- 34 A blashin doon B teemin: blashy C blashy: teemin
 D nil E poorin F lashin G doonpoor H poorin
 I poorin J,K nil L blashy M poorin
- 35 A peltin B lashin C nil D poorin
- 36 A poorin B poorin C lashin D doon-poor E teemin
- 37 A lashin B teemin C teemin D nil E bucketin
 F poorin G poorin H nil I doon-poor
- 38 A lashin: teemin B teemin: bucketin C doonpoor D nil
- 39 A poorin B nil C poorin
- 40 A poorin B lashin doon C teemin: lashin D poorin
- 41 A lashin B teemin C batterin: peltin
- 42 A poorin B teemin C teemin: lashin
- 43 A poorin: teemin B batterin C teemin D teemin
- 44 A poorin B poorin C lashin doon

Item 9 rainbow or part

- 1 A dog B nil C dog D nil
- 2 A dog B dog C,D nil
- 3 A nil B dog C dog D water-dog: weather-gaw
- 4 A,B nil C dog D dog
- 5 A nil B dog C nil D dog E nil
- 6 A nil B weather-dog C dog D dog-end E nil F gaw
G dog
- 7 A dog B dog C nil D dog E weather-gaw F dog
G nil H sun-dog
- 8 A weather gaw B dog C weather gaw D dog: whowp
- 9 A dog B dog C dog D nil
- 10 A weather-dog: weather-gaw B dog-in-the-sky C watch-dog
D weather-gaw E the dog F nil
- 11 A dog B waterdog C,D,E nil F dog G nil
- 12 A water-dog B dog C water-dog D nil E dog
F nil G nil H nil
- 13 A dog B water-dog C nil D nil E nil
- 14 A water-dog B water-dog C water-dog D weather gaw
E wather-gaw F wather-gaw G water-dog
- 15 A water-dog B water-gaw C nil D water-dog
- 16 A water-dog B nil C water-dog D water-duct
E water-dog
- 17 A water-dog B nil C dog D wather-gaw E water-gaw
F water-dog

- 18 A water-dog B nil C water-ga': water-dog: dog-in-the-sky
- 19 A water-dog B water-dog C weather-gaw: a gaw D nil
E weather-gaw F dog G water-dog
- 20 A weatherga' B, C, D nil E dog F nil G dog
- 21 A nil B weather ga' C weather gaw D weather gall
- 22 A wathergaw B nil C water-gall D weather-prophet
E nil
- 23 A weather gaw: wathergaw B wather gaw: water gaw
C wather-gaw D wather-gaw: water-gaw
- 24 A weather gaw B wather gaw C weather gaw D weather gaw
- 25 A weathergaw B weather gaa C, D, E nil
- 26 A nil B weather gall C weather gaw D weather gaw
E water gall
- 27 A nil B weather gaw C weather gaw
- 28 A weather gall B nil
- 29 A nil B nil C nil
- 30 A weather gaw B weather gall C weather ga'
D weather gaw E nil
- 31 A, B nil C weather gaw E nil F wather ga' G, H nil
- 32 A wather gaw B weather gall C a gall D water-dog
- 33 A nil B nil C weather gaw D nil E water gaw
F weather-gaw G weather-gaw H weather-gaw I wather-gaw
- 34 A, B, C, D nil E wather-gaw F weather-gaw G weathergaw
H 'gaw I nil J weather-ga' K weather-gaw L, M nil
- 35 A water-gaw B gaw C weather-gaw D water-gall

- 36 A weathergaw B weather gaw C nil D water-gaw
 E water gaw
- 37 A water dog B weather gaw C weather gall D weather-gaw
 E weather-gaw F weather-gaw G nil I weather-gaw
- 38 A nil B weather-gaw C nil D weather-gaw
- 39 A weather gaw B nil C weather gaw
- 40 A weather gaw B wather-gaw C weather gall D weather gaw
- 41 A nil B boo C wathergaw D nil
- 42 A,B,C,D nil
- 43 A,B,C,D nil
- 44 A,B,C,D nil

Item 12 dusk: twilight

- 1 A darknin: forenicht B grey licht: darknin C nil
 D gloamin
- 2 A gloamin B nil C mirk D gloamin
- 3 A gloamin B the darkenin: mirk C mirk D gloamin
- 4 A,B,C nil D forenicht
- 5 A gloamin B darknin C nil D mirk E,F nil
- 6 A gloamin B gloamin C mirk D nicht fa' E gloamin
 F darklin G mirk
- 7 A gloamin B gloamin C forenicht D fain dark
 E gloamin F mirk G nil
- 8 A gloamin B darknin C gloamin D gloamin
- 9 A gloamin B,C nil D gloamin
- 10 A nichtfa' B gloamin C nil D gloamin E greydark
 F the darknin
- 11 A gloamin B nil C the darknin D gloamin: fore-nicht
 E nil F mirk G forenicht
- 12 A gloamin B darknin C gloamin D,E nil F gloamin
 G nil H gloamin
- 13 A darknin B forenicht C nil D forenicht E nil
- 14 A gloamin B gloamin C nil D gloamin E gloamin
 F,G nil H gloamin
- 15 A gloamin B the darknin C darknin D,G loamin
- 16 A gloamin B gloamin C gloamin D gloamin E nil

- 17 A gloamin: forenicht B darknin C gloamin D gloamin
E nil F gloamin G nil
- 18 A nil B mirk C mirk: grey dark D gloamin
- 19 A gloamin B gloamin C forenicht D darknin F,G nil
- 20 A gloamin B gloamin C darknin D darknin E mirk:
gloamin F gloamin G darknin
- 21 A gloamin B nil C gloamin D forenicht
- 22 A gloamin B darknin C mirk: gloamin D gloamin
E gloamin
- 23 A nil B the darknin: gloamin C gloamin: darknin: grey-dark
D gloamin
- 24 A gloamin B gloamin C darknin: nichtfa' D gloamin
- 25 A gloamin: darknin B gloamin C darknin D gloamin
E gloamin
- 26 A gloamin: darknin B mirk C the darkenin: forenicht
D gloam o' the nicht: forenicht E gloamin
- 27 A gloamin B the glowin C nil
- 28 A gloamin B the darknin
- 29 A gloamin B darknin C forenicht
- 30 A darknin B gloamin C nichtfa' D the darknin
E darknin: gloamin
- 31 A nil B gloamin C nil D the fa' o' the nicht
E nil F gloamin G gloamin H gloamin
- 32 A gloamin B darknin C the darknin D gloamin
- 33 A gloamin: darknin B darknin C gloamin D nil
E neb' o' the mornin F gloamin: mirk G darknin
H darknin I gloamin

- 34 A gloamin: darknin B darknin C darknin
 D the darknin E darknin F the darknin G gloamin:
 darknin H gloamin I gloamin J gloamin K darkenin
 L nil M hauf-licht
- 35 A darknin B gloamin C darknin D gloamin
- 36 A darknin B gloamin C gloamin D the darknin E e'en
- 37 A darkenin B nil C darknin D darknin E gloamin
 F darknin G the nicht is lourin H nil I the darknin
- 38 A the darknin B gloamin: darkenin C darknin: gloamin
 D darknin: gloamin
- 39 A gloamin B darknin C gloamin
- 40 A gloamin B darknin: gloamin C gloamin D gloamin
- 41 A gloamin B gloamin C darknin
- 42 A darknin B dimpsey: gloamin C darknin D darknin
- 43 A nil B gloamin C gloamin D nil
- 44 A mirk B mirk C darknin D darknin

Item 15

- 1 A brosey B nil C brosey D nil
- 2 A, B, C, D nil
- 3 A, B nil C brosey D nil
- 4 A, B, C, D nil
- 5 A nil B brozey C, D, E, F nil
- 6 A trauchle B slob C brosey D nil E nil F gilpie
G nil
- 7 A nil B brosey C, D, E, F, G, H nil
- 8 A baglish B nil C brozey D slobber
- 9 A gachle B brozey C nil D slob
- 10 A trachle: sonsie B hulk C nil D brozey E slunge
F bachle
- 11 A slobber B, C, D, E, F, G nil
- 12 A gausir B hochle C bauchle D, E nil F trauchle
G sumph H dayless: thaless
- 13 A sonsie B slunge C nil D thouless E nil
- 14 A brosey B sumph C nil D bauchle E brozey
F, G nil H sumph
- 15 A trollop B, C nil D slabber: sumph
- 16 A trollop (f) B brosey C sumph D sumph E nil
- 17 A, B, C, D nil E brozey F bauchle
- 18 A slunge (m) B sumph C brosey D nil
- 19 A, B, C, D, E, F nil G sonsie
- 20 A trauchle B brozey C stoogie: thowless D creashy
E hulk F sonsie G slob

- 21 A, B nil C slabber D nil
- 22 A sonsie B sonsie C nil D trollop
- 23 A brosey B gommerel C slob D nil
- 24 A douce B hulk C bochle D brosey
- 25 A hulk B sonsie C brosey D, E nil
- 26 A sonsie B hulk, slob, sonsie C sonsie D sonsie
E sonsie: hulk
- 27 A sonsie B hulk C sonsie
- 28 A creashy B sonsie
- 29 A sonsie B sonsie C sonsie (f)
- 30 A, B, C, D nil E hulk
- 31 A brozey B nil C bochle D douce E, F, G, H nil
- 32 A, B, C nil D slabber
- 33 A hulk B hulk C, D nil E thowless F farrant: nil
G hulk H hulk I nil
- 34 A, B nil C sonsie D, E nil F douce: dosent G nil
H hullion I, J nil K sonsie L hulk M nil
- 35 A nil B sonsie C nil D brosey
- 36 A sumph B nil C nil D nil E hulk
H nil I hulk
- 37 A nil B sonsie C, D, E nil F douce G bachle
H nil I hulk
- 38 A hulk B muckle craitur C brosey
- 39 A, B, C nil
- 40 A, B nil C slounge D slobber
- 41 A nil B sumph C slob

42 A,B,C,D nil

43 A,B,C nil

44 A,B,C nil

Item 20 silent woman

- 1 A stooky B mim-moo C sumph D nil
- 2 A, B, C nil D stookie
- 3 A, B nil C stooky D nil
- 4 A, B, C, D nil
- 5 A nil B stum C nil D staig E, F nil
- 6 A mim-moo B, C, D, E nil F stookie G quate
- 7 A stooky B, C, D, E, F, G, H nil
- 8 A stum B nil C stookie D nil
- 9 A, B nil C nil D nil
- 10 A caunie B stookie C nil D stookie E quate
F stooky
- 11 A stookie B stookie C quate D stum: stucken a' in
E nil F quate G nil
- 12 A mim B stookie C stookie D nil E stookie: stum
F mim-moo G stum: blate H quate
- 13 A mim-moo B nil C nil D nil E nil
- 14 A stum B dry-farrant C nil D stum E quate
F dour G nil
- 15 A dofe: stummy B stum C stookie D stooky
- 16 A stum B dofey: quate C stookie D stookie: mim-moo
E stummy
- 17 A stookie B, C, D nil E stum F stunkard
- 18 A blate B stookie: mim-moo C stum: stooky mim-moo
- 19 A quate B nil C canny D stookie E stummy F, G nil

- 20 A mim-moo B nil C mim-moo D stookie E stookie
F quate G quate
- 21 A nil B blate C quate D sumph
- 22 A nil B quate C quate D,E nil
- 23 A quate: steg: mim-mooth B quate C stookie: quate
- 24 A quate : blate: mim-mooth B nil C quate D nil
- 25 A nil B stookie C stookie D stookie
- 26 A stookie B mim-mooth C mim-mooth D stooky
E quate: mim-moo
- 27 A quate B quate C quate
- 28 A stooky: mim-moo B stooky: mim-moo: blate
- 29 A nil B nil C nil
- 30 A stookie B stookie C stookie D nil E stookie
- 31 A stookie: dokey B stookie C quate E stookie:
mim-mooth F blate G stookie: mim-mooth
- 32 A stookie B stookie C quate: stookie D stookie
- 33 A stookie B nil C quate D nil E nil F quate
G mim-mooth H mim-mooth I nil
- 34 A mim-mooth B quate: mim C quait: mim D nil E quate
F stookie G nil H stookie I quate J mim-mooth
K nil L stookie M nil
- 35 A stookie B stookie C mim-mooth D nil
- 36 A,B nil C dour D quate E quate
- 37 A mim-moo B mim-moo C mim-moo D nil E mim-moo
F quate G nil H quate I nil
- 38 A quate B stookie C quate D nil

- 39 A nil B quate C mim-mooth
- 40 A nil B quate C quate D mim-mooth: quate
- 41 A nil B mim C stooky: mim-mooth
- 42 A mim mooth B,C,D mim-mooth
- 43 A nil B mim-mooth C nil D nil
- 44 A,B,C nil

Item 21 slatternly woman

- 1 A clart: bachle B slut C bauchle D nil
- 2 A trollop B slut: trollop C clart: trough
D block: plaister
- 3 A through-ither B trochle C scut: trollop D slut:
thouless
- 4 A scut: trough B, C nil D trallop: slut
- 5 A bauchle: slut: trollop B trauchle: trollop C nil
D brock: bochle E scut: trough
- 6 A clart B scut C slut: trollop D slut: clart: trachle
E trollop: slut F scut: bisom G trop: trollop
- 7 A nil B slut C slut D trollop E clart F, G nil
H clart
- 8 A sumph B slut: trollop C clart D nil
- 9 A slut B scut C nil D clart
- 10 A trachle: clart: huggary B slut C nil D trollop: slut
E through-ither F slut: through-ither: clart: slabber
- 11 A slut B slitter: slut C plaister D through-ither
E scut F slut: scut
- 12 A through-ither B trollop C through-ither D sloven
E trollop: through-ither: daeless F slut: trollop: trauchle
G thouless H clart
- 13 A trachle: trollop B trauchle: slabber C trachle: clart
through-ither D clart E trollop

- 14 A clart: through-ither B trollop C trollop
 D trauchle: trollop E slut: plaister F trollop
 G through-ither
- 15 A trollop B trachle: slut: through-ither C trauchle:
 trollop D trollop
- 16 A trachled B daeless: trollop: clart C slut
 D trauchle: through-ither E huddery
- 17 A bachle B slut C slut D nil E bachle F trachle
- 18 A slut: through-ither B clart: trollop C through-ither
 clart: huggary: trauchle: slut
- 19 A clart B slut C feckless D slut: clart E trollop:
 through-ither F slabber G clarty-Kate
- 20 A trollop B trachle C through-ither: clart D thowless
 E trollop F clart G slut: trollop
- 21 A nil B through-ither: clart C slut: clart D trachle
- 22 A slut B slut: clart: through-ither C trauchle
 D trauchle E nil
- 23 A through-ither: clart B trollop: huddery: clart
 C trollop: slut: clart: trollop
- 24 A trachle: clart B trollop C slaister D through-ither
- 25 A tuddery B trollop C huddery D duddery: through-other
 E slut
- 26 A slut B slut C trachle: clart D tuddery: huddery
 E trollop: trauchle
- 27 A thowless B slut C slut

- 28 A trollop B through-ither
- 29 A,B nil C slitter
- 30 A thru'-ither: thowless B targe: slut C slitter
 D nil E trauchle
- 31 A through-ither B clart: through-ither C duddery
 D through-ither: huddery: besom E trollop: slut F slart:
 huddery G trollop: huddery H nil
- 32 A clart B through-ither C thowless: trauchle
 D through-ither: trauchle
- 33 A clart: trollop B shauchle: trollop C trachle D nil
 E slut: trachle F trauchle G trachle H trollope
 I slut
- 34 A huddery-duddery: through-ither B huddery: clart
 C huddery: clairt D slut: clart E trollop F slut:
 through-ither G slut H slut I nil J slut K nil
 L through-ither M nil
- 35 A hanless: trauchle B clart: through-ither C pauchle:
 trachle: trollop D troch: trauchle
- 36 A through-al B slut C huddery-duddery D slut:
 huddery E clart
- 37 A slut B slut: trachle C slut D slut E slut: clart
 F through-ither G trachle H nil I slut: huddery
- 38 A slut: huddery B clart C thowless D slut
- 39 A nil B huddery C nil
- 40 A slut B nil C slut D slaister

- 41 A nil B trauchle C clart: trollop: through-ither
42 A trauchle B clart C clart D nil
43 A slut B nil C slut D clart: trollop
44 A bauchle B slut C clart: trollop

Item 26 left-handed

- 1 A feug-fisted: corrie-handed: flug-fisted: fluggie: cloodie-fisted B corry C flug-fisted-caurie-fisted D nil
- 2 A nil B fluggy-fisted C nil D flug-fisted
- 3 A feug-fisted B flug-fisted C flug-fisted: corrie-handed D corriefisted: flug-fisted
- 4 A fluggy B nil C flog-fisted D flug-fisted
- 5 A nil B feug-fisted C feug-fisted D nil E feug-fisted F nil
- 6 A corry-fisted: flug-fisted B flug-fisted C flug-fisted D corry fisted: flug-fisted E flug-fisted F car: car-deugh: rang-handit: kappie G plug-fisted
- 7 A flug-fisted B carry-fisted C flug-fisted D corrie-fisted E nil F corrie-fisted G corry-fisted H nil
- 8 A speug: corrie-fisted B corrie-fisted C flug-fisted: plug-fisted D nil
- 9 A flug-fisted B corrie-fisted C plug-fisted D flug-fisted: corry-fisted
- 10 A corry fisted: corry-mick B corrie-fisted C carriefisted: feugie-fisted D car E corrie-fisted F corrie-fisted: feug-fisted
- 11 A flug-fisted B nil C carry-handed D corrie-fisted E nil F corry fisted G nil
- 12 A corrie-fisted B corriefisted C flug-fisted D corry-fisted E flog-fisted F corrie-handed G nil H club-fisted: cloodie

- 13 A corrie-fisted B corrie-fisted C corry-fisted
D ca- handed E corrie-fisted
- 14 A flug-fisted: corrie-fisted B corrie-fisted: club-fisted
C flug-fisted D corrie-fisted: ca' handed E flug-fisted
F nil G carry-fisted
- 15 A corrie-fisted B cack-handed: club-fisted: ham-fisted:
corrie-fisted C carrie-fisted D club-fisted
- 16 A corrie-fisted B sooth-paw C corrie-fisted
D corrie fisted E cory-fisted
- 17 A nil B corrie-fisted C corrie fisted D,E nil
F cory-fisted
- 18 A nil B feug-fisted C corrie-fisted: club-fisted: flug-
fisted: fluggy: peug-fisted: ca-handed
- 19 A,B nil C flug-fisted D feug-fisted E corrie-fisted
F nil G corriefisted
- 20 A corrie-fisted B carrie-han'd: carrie-fisted
C corrie fisted D currie-fisted E corrie-fisted
F corrie-fisted G corrie-fisted
- 21 A carry-fisted B carr-handed C,D nil
- 22 A carry-fisted B corrie-fisted C corrie handed
D carry-fisted E nil
- 23 A corrie-fisted B corrie-fisted C corrie-handed
D corrie: corrie-fisted
- 24 A carrie-fisted B cory-fisted C caury-fisted
D carry-handed

- 25 A carrie-handed: kippy B nil C corrie-fisted
 D corry-fisted E carry-fisted
- 26 A corryfisted B carryfisted C corriefisted
 D corrie-fisted E corrie handed
- 27 A caak-handed B corrie fisted C corriefisted: carrie-handed
- 28 A corrie-fisted B corriefisted
- 29 A carrie-fisted B corrie-handed C nil
- 30 A corrie-fisted B caurey C corry-fisted D clootie
 E corrie-fisted
- 31 A corrie-handed B caury-fisted C corrie-fisted
 D curryfisted E nil F carrie-fisted G corrie-fisted
 H carrie-fisted
- 32 A corrie-fisted B corrie-fisted C corrie-fisted
 D carry-handit
- 33 A carrie-fisted B corrie-fisted C corry-fisted
 D corry-handed E nil F corry fisted G corryfisted
 H nil I corryfisted
- 34 A corry-fisted B corriefisted C corriefisted
 D corrie-handed E carrie-handed F corriefisted:
 carrie-handed G corrie-handed H corrie-fisted
 I carrie-fisted J corrie fisted K curry-fisted
 L carry handed M carry handed
- 35 A carrie-fisted B carra-handed C corrie: curry-fisted
 D corrie-fisted
- 36 A curry-fisted B, C nil D corrie-fisted E corrie-fisted

- 37 A curry-fisted B carrie-fisted C curryfisted
 D carrie handed E corry fisted F carriehanded
 G carryhanded H nil I carriefisted
- 38 A carriefisted B corryfisted C coryfisted D corie
 fisted
- 39 A carrie handit B carrie handed C curry fisted
- 40 A carrie-fistet B carrie-fisted C carrie handed
 D corrie fisted
- 41 A corriefisted B carrie-handit C corrie-fisted
- 42 A keggy-hauned B carry-handed: kar C carry-handed
- 43 A carrie-fisted B carrie fisted C kerryhanded
- 44 A kerr handed B carry: corry C carrie-handed:
 carri-hand

Item 31 all dressed up for an occasion

[dul = dressed up like]
[dt = done up to]

- 1 A dul a flea hyeuk: dul yer twa hans: dt the 9s
 B dolled-up C spruced-up D nil
- 2 A dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 99s B dt the 99s: dt the 9s
 C dt the 99s D dt the 9s
- 3 A dolled up B toshed up C nil D dt the 99s
- 4 A, B nil C dolled up D dt the knocker
- 5 A toshed up B all toshed up C, D, E nil F dul yer twa hans
- 6 A dul a flea hyeuk B dt the 99s C dul a flea hyeuk:
 D dul a flea hyeuk E dt the 99s F weel putten on: dt 9s
 G spruced up: dt the 99s
- 7 A dt the 99s: dul a flea hyeuk B dt the 99s: dul a flea hyeuk
 C dul a flea hyeuk: dt to the 9s D dul a dish o' fish
 E dul yer twa hans F dul yer twa hans G nil
- 8 A dt the 99s B dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk C dul a flea
 hyeuk: dt the 9s: dul a bawhill peeswee D dul a dish o' fish:
 dul yer two hans
- 9 A toshed up: dul a flea hyeuk: dul dish o' fish: dul yer
 two hans: dt the 99s: dt the 90s B toshed up: dt the 99s
 C dolled up D dul flea hyeuk
- 10 A dolled up: dt the 99s B dul a dish o' fish: dul flea hyeuk:
 dt the 99s C dul a peesweep D dul flea hyeuk: toshed up
 E dt the 9s: dul a fleahyeuk F dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s

- 11 A spruced up: dul flea hyeuk B dul flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 C sprucedup: dt the 99s: dul a basket o' fish D dolled up:
 dt the 99s: dul a flea hyeuk E nil F rigged oot like a
 flee hyeuk
- 12 A dul flea hyeuk: dt the 9s B dt the knocker: d.t. the 99s
 C dt the 9s: dul a dish o' fish: dul yer twa hans: dul a flea-
 hyeuk D dul flea hyeuk E dul flea hyeuk: dt the knocker:
 dul yer twa hans F dul flea hyeuk: dt the knocker: dul a dish
 o' fish G dt the 99s: dul a dish o' fish: weel-buskit
 d.u.l. fleahyeuk
- 13 A dul flea hyeuk B dt the 99s C braw: spruced-up
 D spruced up E dt the 10s
- 14 A dt the 9s B basket up like a flea hyeuk C got up like
 a flea hyeuk D dolled up: d.t the 99s E dt the knocker
 F dt the 9s: dt the knocker: dul fleahyeuk G dt the 99s
- 15 A dul a flea hyeuk B dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 99s: dt the
 knockers C dul a fleahyeuk D dul a fleahyeuk
- 16 A dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk: dul a dish o' fish
 B fantouche: dt the 9s C dul a flea hyeuk
 D dul a tinker's cuddy E tifted
- 17 A dul a dish o' fish B weel basket C dul a dish o' fish
 D dt the 90s E dt the 9s F perjink: dul a dish o' fish
- 18 A dolled up: dul flea hyeuk: dul a dish o' fish B toshed up:
 dul flea hyeuk: rigged oot like a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 C got up like a flea hyeuk: dul a ged flea: dul a dish o'
 fish: dul flea hyeuk: buskit up like a hyeuk

- 19 A weel-busket B nil C a' toggled up: dt the 99s
 D dolled up E nil F nil G nil
- 20 A tippy-doo'd B gash C dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 D dul a flea hyeuk E nil F dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk
 G weel-buskit
- 21 A dul a flea hyeuk B dt the 9s C dul a flea hyeuk:
 dt the 9s D snod: dul a flea-hyeuk
- 22 A basket like a flea hyeuk B dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 C rigged up: dolled up D dul a flea hyeuk E toned up
- 23 A dul a flea hyeuk B dul a flea hyeuk C dt the 99s:
 D braw
- 24 A dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk B dt the 9s: dul a flea
 hyeuk C dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk D dul a dish o' fish
- 25 A dul a flea hyeuk B nil C dt the 99s: dul a flea hyeuk
 D dul a flea hyeuk E dul a flea hyeuk
- 26 A dt the 9s: dul a flea-hyeuk B dt the knocker: dul a flea
 hyeuk: dt the 9s C dt the 9s: dt the knocker: dul a flea
 hyeuk D dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s E dul a flea hyeuk
- 27 A nil B dt the 9s C dt the 9s
- 28 A dul a flea hyeuk B dt the 9s
- 29 A a' dolled up B dul a flea hyeuk: weel pit on
 C dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
- 30 A dul a dish o' fish: dt the 9s B weel-buskit: dt the 9s:
 C dt the 9s D dul a ged hyeuk E dolled up

- 31 A dt the 99s: dul a flea hyeuk B dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 C,D nil E dul a flea hyeuk F dt the 9s G dul a flea
 hyeuk H dul a pees wee: dt the 9s
- 32 A snod B dt the 9s: dul a flee hyeuk C dul a flea hyeuk
 D dul a flea hyeuk: dolled up
- 33 A dul a dish o' fish B toffed up: dul a flea hyeuk
 C dul a flea hyeuk D dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 E dt the 9s F dressed to the knocker G dt the 9s
 H weel buskit I dul a flea hyeuk
- 34 A dul a flea hyeuk B dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 C dul a flea hyeuk D dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 E dul a flea hyeuk F sproust: dul a flea hyeuk
 G dul a flea hyeuk H dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk
 I dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s J dul a flea hyeuk K dt the 9s:
 perjink L dul a flea hyeuk M like a new pented cairt
- 35 A dolled up like a flea hyeuk: B dolled: dul a flea hyeuk
 C dt the 9s D nil
- 36 A dt the 9s B nil C nil D dul a flea hyeuk: dt the 9s
 E dt the 9s: dul Jock's granny
- 37 A toggged up B prinked C dul a flea hyeuk: fantouche
 D dul a flea hyeuk E dt the 9s F dul a flea hyeuk
 G nil H dul a flea hyeuk
- 38 A dolled up: dt the 9s B dolled up: dul a flea hyeuk
 C dul a fish o' fish D dul a flea hyeuk
- 39 A dul a flea hyeuk B tooshed up C dt the 9s

- 40 A in yer braws B dt the 9s C dul a flea hyeuk
 D dul a flea hyeuk
- 41 A weel-buskit B brawed up C dt the 9s: dul a flea hyeuk
- 42 A dolled up: dt the 99s B dul a flea hyeuk C dul a flea
 hyeuk D nil
- 43 A dt the 9s B dolled up C dul a flea hyeuk
- 44 A nil B dul a flea hyeuk C nil D toggled up

Item 32 well-to-do

- 1 A snod B weel-aff C weel-faured D nil
- 2 A,B,C nil D warm
- 3 A nil B weel-aff C weel-gethert D warm
- 4 A,B,C nil D weel-aff
- 5 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A nil B warm C weel-gethert D weel-aff E bien
F weel-lined: bien G weel-fecked: bien
- 7 A,B nil C bien D bien E bien F douce G,H nil
- 8 A bien B in his brows: warm C weel-creeshed: weel-
gathered D nil
- 9 A weel-gethert B bien C nil D weel-shod
- 10 A weel-gathered B weel-aff C,D nil E weel dain
F weel-aff
- 11 A bien B warm C weel gathered D bien E,F,G nil
- 12 A weel-aff B weel-theekit C weel-lined D nil
E bien F weel-gethert G bien H weel-gathered
- 13 A weel-gethert B weel-gathered C weel aff D bien:
weel-theekit E nil
- 14 A weel-aff B bien C nil D bien E,F nil G warm
- 15 A weel-gathered B bien C weel-gathered D bien
- 16 A bien B weel-tae-dae C weel-gathered D weel-lined
E weel-feeked
- 17 A weel-gathered B bien C,D,E nil F weel-faured
- 18 A bien B bielly C bien eneuch: warm

- 19 A weel-aff B,C nil D bettermos: bien E bien
 F weel-gethert G weel-theekit
- 20 A,B nil C bettermos D,E nil F guid dae-in
 G weel-aff
- 21 A bein B weel-gethered C weel-lined D weel-tochered
- 22 A weel-gethered B weel-aff: bettermos C bien
 D weel-munted E bettermos Kin'
- 23 A weel-pit-on: weel-set-up B weel-aff: weel-lined:
 weel-theekit C bettermos D weel-aff
- 24 A bien: weel-gethered: weel-lined B weel-heeled
 C weel-muntit D weel-theekit
- 25 A weel dae-in B bettermos C nil D pist
 E weel-gethered
- 26 A weel got-up B weel-tae-dae C Snod D weel-gethert:
 pist E better-aff
- 27 A bettermos B well-daein C weel daein: weel-munted
- 28 A bien B weel-pit-on
- 29 A weel-muntit B weel-daein C weel-heelt
- 30 A weel-aff: weel-daein: weel-pit-on B bien C weel-gethert
 D nil E weel-lined: better-mos
- 31 A weel-muntit B warm: weel-lined C weel-gethert
 D better-mos E weel-aff: weel-gethered F nil
 G weel-lined H nil
- 32 A bien B bien C weel-aff: bettermos D weel-aff:
 weel-heeled

- 33 A weel-aff B weel-buskit C weel-lined D,E nil
 F bettermos G weel-heeled H bien: weel-muntit
 I bettermos
- 34 A weel-gethered B weel-aff C weel-aff D nil
 E weel-aff F weel set on G weel-heeled H nil
 I weel-muntit J weel-muntit K nil L weel dae-in
 M weel-aff
- 35 A weel-gethered B bettermos C weel dain D nil
- 36 A weel-aff B nil C weel-tae-dae: weel-aff
 D weel-theekit E weel daein: weel-muntit
- 37 A fantoosh B bien: weel-aff C bien D,E nil F bien
 G,H nil I weel-fairit
- 38 A weel-fairit B weel-aff C bien D nil
- 39 A weel-muntit B,C nil
- 40 A weel-aff B bettermos C nil D weel-aff
- 41 A nil B weel-aff C weel-aff
- 42 A weel gethered B weel-aff C,D nil
- 43 A,B,C,D nil
- 44 A weel-daein B weel-faurin C nil D weel-aff

Item 34 impertinent (in an inquisitive way)

- 1 A nebbby B nebbby C speirin D nil
- 2 A nebbby B,C nil D nosey
- 3 A nebbby B nebbby C impident D impremint: nebbby
- 4 A nil B imperant scart C nebbby D nil
- 5 A nil B nebbby C nebbby D nil
- 6 A mouthy B nebbby C nebbby D nebbby E nebbby
F imperant G nebbby
- 7 A nebbby B nebbby C nebbby D nebbby E,F nil G nosey
- 8 A nebbby B imperent C speirin D nebbby
- 9 A imperant: nebbby B impident C nosey: cutty
D impitent: nebbby
- 10 A impident B nebbby: imperant scart C imperant scart
D nebbby E nebbby: imperant-scart F nosey: nebbby:
imperant scart
- 11 A nebbby B nebbby C nebbby D imperint E nebbbit
F snashie
- 12 A imperant scart B nil C nebbby D nil E nebbby
F imperant G nil H forwardsom: snashie
- 13 A imperant-scart B nosey C nebbby D nebbby
E givin' snash
- 14 A brat B speirin C nil D imperant E nebbby
F nebbby G nebbby
- 15 A imperant scart B speirin: nebbby: imperant scart C nosy:
imperant scart D nebbie

- 16 A imperint B nosey C imperant scart D nebbie
E glib: speirin
- 17 A,B,C,D nil E nebbit F nil
- 18 A nosey B impident scart C speirin: nebbby
- 19 A impident scirt B,C nil D impident scart
E imperant F,G nil
- 20 A impident scart B impident C spierin: nebbby
D spierin: nebbby E nosey F speirin G nebbie: speirin
- 21 A nil B spierin C nebbby D tippy
- 22 A nebbin B speirin: impident scart C impident: nebbby
D firretsom E speirin
- 23 A speirin: nebbby B impident: nebbby C nosey
D forritsom
- 24 A clippit: nebbby: forritsom B nosey C impident: nosey:
nebbie D speirin: forritsom
- 25 A spierin B nebbie C nebbby: spierin D nil E nil
- 26 A nosey B nebbby C forritsom D forritsom E spierin
- 27 A speirin: nebbby B impident C forritsom: nebbby
- 28 A speirin B impident: foritsom: speirin
- 29 A nil B forritsom C nebbby
- 30 A speirin: nebbby B impident scart C nil D nebbby
E impident: nebbit
- 31 A spierin B nosey: nebbby C nebbby D nebbby E speirin
F nebbby G spierin: nebbby H speirin: imperant
- 32 A nebbby B speirin C nil D nebbie
- 33 A nil B nebbby C speirin D,E nil F nebbby G nil
H speirin I nosey

- 34 A nebbie B impident: nebbby C furritsom: nebbby
 D speirin E forritsom F speirin G nebbby
 H forritsom I furritsom J speirin K nil L nebbby
 M nil
- 35 A impident: nebbie: speirin B nebbie C furritsom: nebbby
 D speirin
- 36 A nosey B,C nil D nosey: nebbby: speirin E spierin:
 forritsom
- 37 A,B nil C nebbby: nosey D nebbie E nosey F nebbby
 G,H nil I nebbby
- 38 A nebbby: nosey B spierin C speirin D nebbie
- 39 A nebbby: spierin B speirin C nebbby
- 40 A speirin B impident C spierin D nil
- 41 A nil B impident C nebbie
- 42 A,B nil C impident D speirin: nebbby
- 43 A nil B speirin C nil
- 44 A nil B nebbie C nil

Item 35 stubborn, awkward

- 1 A essert B twisted C thrawn D thrawn
- 2 A thrawn B essert C essert D thrawn: dour: essert
- 3 A nil B thrawn C thrawn D thrawn
- 4 A essert B nil C essert D essert: thrawn
- 5 A nil B thrawn C nil D ersit E thrawn F nil
- 6 A thrawn B ersit C dour: ersit D thrawn: essert
E thrawn F thrawn G swaird
- 7 A dour B essert C thrawn D dour E essert
F,G,H nil
- 8 A nil B essert C dour D nil
- 9 A essert B essert C nil D essert
- 10 A dour: essert: carnaphshus B essert C nil D essert
E essert F essert
- 11 A essert B essert C essert D essert E,F,G nil
- 12 A essert B essart C nil D essert E trawn
F essert G essert H essert
- 13 A essert: stoomy B essert: akart C nil D essert
E thrawn
- 14 A essert: dour B essart C nil D essart as the pigs o'
Drogheda: thrawn E dour F essart G twisted: essert
- 15 A essart B essert: thrawn C essert D essert
- 16 A essert B thrawn C essert D essert E essert
- 17 A essert B nil C essert D,E nil F essert
- 18 A dour: essert B dour: essert C essert
- 19 A dour: essert B essert C essert D dour E essert

- F essart G nil
- 20 A dour B thrawn C dour: ersit D ersit E ersit
F ersit G dour: essart H ersid
- 21 A nil B ersit C ersit D dour: thrawn
- 22 A dour B dour: ersit C dour: ersit D thrawn E nil
- 23 A thrawn B ersit C ersit D thrawn: ersit
- 24 A dour: ersit B ersit C dour: ersit D nil
- 25 A dour: ersit B ersit C ersit: takin the sturdies
D ersit E ersed
- 26 A takin the sturdies B takin the sturdies: ersit C ersit
D thrawn: dour E ta'en the sturdies: ersit
- 27 A dour: ersit B dour: ta'en the sturdies C ersit:
takin the sturdies: dour
- 28 A ersit B ersit
- 29 A nil B nil C nil
- 30 A dour: ersit B thrawn: ersit C dour D ersit
E takin' the sturdies
- 31 A thrawn B dour C dour D thra'n: ersit E nil
F trawe: dour G ersit H dour
- 32 A dour B ersit C dour D ersit
- 33 A dour: ersit B arsit C dour D twisted E dour
F nil G ersit H ersed I hup yer yine
- 34 A thrawn: ersit B ersid C arsed D dour: ersit E dour:
ersid F dour: thran G dour: ersit H ersit I,J,K ersit
L dour M nil: ersit

- 35 A dour: ersid B ersit C ersert D dour
- 36 A ersit B nil C ersit D ersit E dour: ersit
- 37 A earsid B dour C ersid D ersit E dour
 F ersid G nil H dour I ersit
- 38 A ersit B dour C dour D ersid
- 39 A thrawn: ersit B dour C dour D tak the sturdies
- 40 A dour B dour: ersit C ersit D ersit
- 41 A nil B dour C ersit: dour
- 42 A ersit B thrawn C ersit D ersit: dour
- 43 A dour B ersed C dour D nil
- 44 A dour B ersit C dour

Item 36 irritable, quick tempered

- 1 A carnaphsus B narky C carnaphsus D nil
- 2 A mad-skulled B neby C neby D crabbit
- 3 A,B nil C cantankerous D nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D crabbit
- 5 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A crabbit B essart C nil D crabbit E carnaphsus
F,G nil H carnaphsus
- 7 A carnaphsus B crabbit C crabbit D thrawn
E carnaphsus F,G,H nil
- 8 A nil B crabbit C carnaphsus D nil
- 9 A,B,C,D nil
- 10 A crabbit B,C nil D carnaphsus E crabbit
F carnaphsus
- 11 A carnaphsus B crabbit C nyarky D carnaphsus
E,F,G nil
- 12 A neby B carnaphsus C crabbit: carnaphsus D nil
E crabbit F carnaphsus G crabbit H crabbit
- 13 A crabbit B carnaphsus C nil D carnaphsus: crabbit
E carnaphsus
- 14 A carnaphsus B crabbit C crabbit D crabbit
E crabbit F,G nil
- 15 A narky B crabbit C carnaphsus: crabbit D crabbit
- 16 A crabbit: carnaphsus: mad-skulled B carnaphsus
C crabbit D crabbit: carnaphsus: catwittet E tetchy

- 17 A carnapshus B crabbit C nebbie D,E,F nil
- 18 A crabbit: neby B narky: crabbit C birsy: birse is up:
carnapshus
- 19 A crabbit B nil C carnapshus D cat-wuttit
E carnapshus F nil G narky
- 20 A thrawn B crabbit C thrawn as a whirlan: crabbit
D carnapshus E nil F cat-wuttet G targe
- 21 A nil B crabbit C cat-wittet: carnapshus D crabbit
- 22 A thrawn B thra'n: crabbit: carnapshus C thrawn
D crabbit E nil
- 23 A crabbit B crabbit C cat-wuttit: crabbit: thrawn
D bursey: thrawn
- 24 A crabbit B thrawn: crabbit: carnapshus C carnapshus
D catwuttit
- 25 A cat-wittet B thrawn C crabbit D nil E catwuttit
- 26 A crabbit B catwuttit C catwuttit: carnapshus
D cat-wuttit E crabbit
- 27 A crabbit: thra'an B thrawn C cat wuttit
- 28 A crabbit B targe (F)
- 29 A thrawn B carnapshus C crabbit
- 30 A thrawn B carnapshus C carnapshus D nil
E cat-witted
- 31 A cat-wuttet B crabbit C carnapshus C crabbit
E carnapshus F crabbit G catwitted H nil
- 32 A thrawn B crabbit C crabbit D crabbit

- 33 A nil B thrawn C crabbit D thran E,F nil
 G crabbit H nil I thrawn
- 34 A crabbit B thrawn C thrawn D thran E thran
 F thran G nil H thrawn I birny: crabbit J nil
 K crabbit L thrawn
- 35 A crabbit B thrawn C birsy D thrawn
- 36 A thran B nil C thrawn D carnaphsus E crabbit
- 37 A thrawn B birsy C crabbit D crabbit E thrawn
 F thrawn G cat-wuttet H thran I crabbit
- 38 A thra'n: crabbit B thrawn C crabbit D nil
- 39 A catwitted B nil C crabbit
- 40 A nil B thrawn C crabbit D crabbit
- 41 A nil B thrawn C crabbit: thrawn
- 42 A birsie B crabbit C crabbit D thrawn
- 43 A thran B,C nil
- 44 A nil B thrawn C nil

Item 37 difficult to listen to because of continual self-praise

- 1 A painful B blawhard C blaw D painful: bum
- 2 A painful B bla': painful C painful: bum D painful
- 3 A nil B blaw: painful C crawn D nil
- 4 A,B nil C blaw D puff
- 5 A nil B blaw C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A blaw B painful C blaw D crawin croose E bum
F nil G blaw
- 7 A bum: painful B blaw C blaw D blaw E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A,B nil C painful D nil
- 9 A bla' B blaw C blaw D bum
- 10 A bla' B bla' C nil D bla' E bum F bum
- 11 A nil B bla' C blaw: bum D bla' E,F,G nil
- 12 A thinks himsel nae sheep-shank B bla' C nil D bum
E bla' F bla' weary G,H nil
- 13 A blaw o' win B bla' C painfu' D bla' E bla' weary
- 14 A bla' B nil C blaw D blaw E blaw G bla-fum
- 15 A bum: bla' B bla': bum C bla' D nil
- 16 A bla' B bum: bla' C bla' weary D blaw: splore
E bla'weary
- 17 A nil B bla' C bla' D nil E sprowsin F bum: blaw
- 18 A bla': bum B bla' hard C bla': bla'hard: bla'-weary: bum
- 19 A bla' B nil C bla': bla'weary: puff D bla': bla'hard:
bum E bum: puff: bla' F,G nil
- 20 A blaw B nil C bla' D bla': bla'weary E blaw
F blaw G big bookit

- 21 A nil B bla' C bla': bum D bum
- 22 A bum: blaw: croose B big bla': bum C bla' D awfu' bla'
E nil
- 23 A bla' B bla'hard: bum C bla' D blaw
- 24 A bla': bum B blaw C blaw D bum
- 25 A bag-o'-win B bla' C blaw D bla'
- 26 A bum: bla' B blaw C bum D blaw hard E bla'
- 27 A bla' B bla' C bla'
- 28 A blishty B blaw
- 29 A a big bla' B bum C bla'hard
- 30 A painful B blaw: bum C bla' D bla'weary E bla'
- 31 A bla' B bla' C blaw D bum E bla' F blaw
G bum H nil
- 32 A bla' B bum C nil D bum
- 33 A bla' B bla' C bum D,E,F nil G bum H,I nil
- 34 A bla' B big bla' C blaw D bla'hard: bum E bum
F richt bla' G bla' H bum I bla' J,K nil
L bla' M bum
- 35 A bla' weary B blaw C nil D blaw
- 36 A,B nil C bla' D bla': bum E bla'
- 37 A blaw B bla' C blaw-wearie D bla' E bum
F bla' G,H nil I bla'
- 38 A bla' B bla' C bum D nil
- 39 A bla' B nil C bla'
- 40 A blaw B bla' C bla' D bla'

- 41 A,B nil C blaw: bum
- 42 A richt blaw B blaw C blaw D bla'
- 43 A nil B blaw C,D nil
- 44 A,B nil C blaw

Item 40 club-footed

- 1 A reel-fitted B nil C reel fitted D nil
- 2 A reel-fitted B nil C reel-fitted D cleb-taed:
reel-fitted
- 3 A nil B reel-fitted C reel-fitted D nil
- 4 A reel-fitted B,C nil D reel-fitted
- 5 A nil B reel-fitted C reel-fitted D reel-fitted
E,F nil
- 6 A gammy-foot B reel-fitted C nil D reel-fitted
E nil F cleuchie-fit G fittit
- 7 A nil B reel C reel-fittit D reel-fitted
E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A reel B nil C reel-fitted
- 9 A reel-fitted B,C,D nil
- 10 A reel-fitted B reel-fitted C,D,E,F nil
- 11 A cleppy-taed B reel-fitted C nil C club-fitted
E reel-fitted F,G nil
- 12 A reel-fitted B,C,D nil E reel-fitted F reel-fitted
G nil H reel-fitted
- 13 A reel-fitted B,C,D,E nil
- 14 A reel B,C nil D reel-fitted E reel-fitted F nil
G reel-fitted
- 15 A stumpy B nil C clubfitted D reel-fitted
- 16 A reel-fitted B,C nil D reel-fitted E nil
- 17 A reel-fitted B,C,D,E nil F reel-fitted

- 18 A nil B club fitted C reel fitted
- 19 A reel-fitted B nil C reel-fitted D nil E reel-fitted F,G nil
- 20 A nil B reel-fitted C club-taed D club-fitted E,F nil G reel-fitted
- 21 A nil B reel-fitted C nil D reel-fitted
- 22 A,B,C,D,E nil
- 23 A,B,C,D nil
- 24 A reel-fitted B,C,D nil
- 25 A,B nil C dumpy-fitted D,E nil
- 26 A stumpy B dumpy-fitted C nil D cleb-footed
- 27 A reel-fitted B,C Nil
- 28 A,B nil
- 29 A,B,C nil
- 30 A reel-footed B nil C cleukie-fitted D nil E clinsher
- 31 A twisted-footed B nil C cleb-fitted D nil E reel-fitted F cleb-footed G cleuchie-footed
- 32 A,B nil C reel-fitted D nil
- 33 A nil B stumpy C,D,E nil F dumper G reel-fitted H,I nil
- 34 A dumpy-fittit B reel-fitted C reel-fitted D cleb-fitted E cleb-fitted F,G reel-fitted H reel-footed I reel-footed J nil K reel-footed L stumpy M short-fitted

- 35 A,B nil C reel-fitted D nil
- 36 A,B,C,D nil E crookit-fitted
- 37 A nil B reel-fitted C reel-fitted D claw-fit
 E crawtaes F reel-fitted G,H nil I stumpy
- 38 A stumpy B,C,D nil
- 39 A pissle-fit B,C nil
- 40 A nil B dumpy fitted C,D nil
- 41 A,B,C nil
- 42 A dumpy-fittit B,C,D nil
- 43 A,B,C nil
- 44 A,B,C nil

Item 42 numbness-in-a-limb

- 1 A dofy B nil C deoghy: doaf D nil
- 2 A,B,C nil D dofe
- 3 A nil B dofe C,D nil
- 4 A doffe B nil C doffe D poorless
- 5 A,B,C,E,E,F nil
- 6 A nil B dofe C nil D dofe E nil F dofey G nil
- 7 A nil B dofey C nil D douf E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A nil B dofey C dofe D nil
- 9 A nil B dofe C,D nil
- 10 A dofey B doey C po'erless D dofey E nil
F po'erless
- 11 A doach B dofe C doaf D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A dochey B dochey C dofe D nil E dofey F doch:
dofe G nil H dochy
- 13 A,B,C,D,E nil
- 14 A dofey B po'erless C nil D dofey E dochy F nil
H po'erless
- 15 A dofey B dofey C dofey D nil
- 16 A dofe B dofey C po'erless D nil E nil
- 17 A deid B,C,D,E,F nil
- 18 A nil B dofe C dofey: dochey
- 19 A po'erless B doch C nil D dofey E nil
F dofey G nil
- 20 A,B nil C po'erless D,E nil F po'erless G nil
- 21 A,B nil C deid D nil
- 22 A po'erless B nil C dowie D nil

- 23 A nil B po'erless C nae feelin D po'erless
- 24 A doof B nil C deid D nil
- 25 A,B,C nil D deid E nil
- 26 A nil B po'erless C deid D dofe E nil
- 27 A po'erless B deid C nil
- 28 A po'erless B nil
- 29 A dofe B nil C nil
- 30 A deid B dofey C dochey D dofey E po'erless
- 31 A deid B dooce C,D,E,F,G,H nil
- 32 A dochey B nil C po'erless D nil
- 33 A nil B po'erless C,D,E nil F po'erless G nil
H po'erless
- 34 A nil B deid C deid D po'erless E deid F deid
G deid H po'erless I,J,K,L sleepin M nil
- 35 A deid B dofe C,D nil
- 36 A dofey B po'erless C nil D po'erless E dofe
- 37 A foundered B dofe C founert D deid E deid
F po'erless G,H nil I deid
- 38 A nil B douf C nae feelin D nil
- 39 A deid B nil C poorless
- 40 A poorless B poor less C dofe D poorless
- 41 A,B,C nil
- 42 A,B,C,D nil
- 43 A staved B nae feelin C,D nil
- 44 A nil B poorless C nae feelin

Item 43 feeling-of-returning-circulation

- 1 A dirrlin B dinglin C dindlin D dinglin
- 2 A dindlin B dinglin C dinglin D dinglin
- 3 A dirlin B dinglin C dindlin D dinglin
- 4 A prinklin B stoonin C dindlin: dinglin D dinglin
- 5 A,B nil C dirrlin D dirlin E,F nil
- 6 A nil B dirrlin C dinglin D dinglin E nil
F dirlin G nil
- 7 A dinglin B dinglin C dinglin D,E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A dirr B dirrlin C dirrlin D nil
- 9 A dinglin B dirrin C prinklin D nil
- 10 A dinglin B dinglin C nil D dirrlin E dinglin
F dirrlin: dinglin
- 11 A tinglin B dirrlin C pringlin D dirrlin
E pringlin F dinglin G nil
- 12 A nil B dinglin C dinglin D dirrlin E dirrlin
F dirrlin G nil H dirrlin
- 13 A dinglin B nil C jaggy D stounin E nil
- 14 A tinglin B dirrlin C nil D prinklin E prinklin
F,G nil
- 15 A dinglin: dirrlin B dinglin: dirrlin C dinglin D nil
- 16 A tinglin: dirrlin: dindlin B prinklin: dirrlin
C dirrin: dinglin: stounin D dinglin E tinglin
- 17 A dirrlin B,C,D nil E dirlin F nil
- 18 A tinglin B nil C stoonin: tinglin

- 19 A dirrlin B nil C dinglin D dinglin E,F,G nil
- 20 A,B nil C dinglin D dinglin: dirrlin E prinklin
F dinglin: tinglin G prinklin
- 21 A,B,C nil D nil
- 22 A nil B dirrlin C tinglin D nil E tinglin
- 23 A the tingles oot B dinglin C,D nil
- 24 A dinglin B dirrlin C tinglin D dinglin
- 25 A dinglin B tinglin C tinglin D,E nil
- 26 A dirrlin B dinglin C dirlin D,E nil
- 27 A dirrlin B,C nil
- 28 A tinglin B nil
- 29 A dirrlin B pringlin: dinglin C dinglin: pricklin
- 30 A dirrlin B dinglin C tinglin: dinglin C dinglin
D nil E dinglin
- 31 A prinklin B tinglin C stinging D dirrlin: jaggin
E pringlin: dinglin F nil G tinglin H nil
- 32 A dinglin B dirrlin C dirrlin D dirrlin
- 33 A tinglin B dirrlin C dinglin D,E nil F dirrlin
G dirrlin: dinglin H dinglin I nil
- 34 A dinglin B dinglin C dinglin D dinglin E dirrlin:
dinglin F dirrlin G pringlin H dinglin I dirrlin
J,K dirrlin L dinglin M nil
- 35 A tinglin B dinglin C,D nil
- 36 A dingle B nil C dinglin D tinglin: dinglin
E dinglin

- 37 A tinglin B dinglin C tinglin: dirrlin D dinglin
 E dinglin: dirrlin F dinglin G,H nil I nil
- 38 A dinglin B pricklin C dinglin D tinglin
- 39 A dinglin: tinglin B nil C tinglin
- 40 A,B nil C dirrlin
- 41 A dinglin B dinglin C dirrlin D tinglin
- 42 A nil B dinglin C dirlin D dirlin
- 43 A nil B dirlin C nil
- 44 A nil B dinglin C nil

Item 47 reduction-in-swelling

- 1 A swampit B,C,D nil
- 2 A swamped B,C nil D swampit
- 3 A ga'an doon B swampit C swamp D nil
- 4 A,B nil C swamped D swampen
- 5 A nil B swamped C nil D swamped E,F nil
- 6 A,B nil C swampin D,E,F nil G unboldened
- 7 A swampin B,C nil D ga'an doon D,E,F,G nil
- 8 A nil B swampit C,D nil
- 9 A swamped B,C,D nil
- 10 A nil B ga'an doon C nil D ga'an doon: swampit
E ga'an doon F swampit
- 11 A swamped B swampit C swamped doon a bit D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A ga'an doon B swampit C,D nil E swampit
F swamped G nil H gin doon
- 13 A nil B swamped C,D,E nil
- 14 A swampit B ga'an doon C nil D ga'an doon
E ga'an doon F swampit G nil
- 15 A nil B ga'an doon C ga'an doon D swamped
- 16 A swampit B gaw'in doon C nil D swampit E nil
- 17 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 18 A nil B ga'an doon C ga'an doon
- 19 A ga'an doon B nil C ga'an doon D ga'en doon
E,F,G nil
- 20 A nil B nil C swampin D swampit E swampit
F swamps G swampin
- 21 A,B nil C ga'an doon D ga'n doon

- 22 A ga'n doon B ga'n doon C ga'n doon D,E nil
- 23 A ga'n doon B ga'n doon C swampit D swampit
- 24 A swampin B swampin C swampin D nil
- 25 A ga'n doon B nil C ga'n doon D,E nil
- 26 A nil B swampin C ga'n doon D swampin E nil
- 27 A doon B ga'an doon C ga'n doon
- 28 A nil B ga'n doon
- 29 A swampit B,C nil
- 30 A ga'n doon B ga'n doon C swampit D nil E ga'n doon
- 31 A fa'n doon B ga'n doon C ga'n doon D ga'n doon
E ga'n doon F ga'n doon G ga'n doon H nil
- 32 A,B nil C ga'n doon D swampit
- 33 A nil B ga'n doon C nil D swampin E nil
F swampin G ga'n doon H nil I nil
- 34 A nil B ga'n doon C ga'n doon D ga'n doon
E ga'an doon F ga'an doon G swampin H ga'n doon
I,J,K,L,M nil
- 35 A nil B swampin C ga'n doon: swampin D swamp
- 36 A,B,C,D nil E ga'n doon
- 37 A nil B swamp C ga'n doon: swamped D ga'n doon
E ga'n doon F ga'n doon G,H nil I ga'n doon
- 38 A ga'n doon B ga'an doon C ga'an doon D ga'n doon:
swampit
- 39 A ga'n doon B nil C ga'n doon
- 40 A ga'n doon B lows in off: slacknin off C nil D ga'an doon

- 41 A nil B scaled C ga'n doon
- 42 A,B,C nil D ga'n doon
- 43 A slacknin B doon C nil
- 44 A nil B ga'n doon C nil

Item 51 chattering

- 1 A yatterin: yitterin: gabblin B gabblin C bletherin:
gabblin D natterin
- 2 A,B,C nil D clackin
- 3 A nil B gabblin C nil D bletherin
- 4 A gafferin B wabblin C cleckin D gabblin: bletherin:
yammerin: gafferin: githerin
- 5 A nil B gabbin C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A nyitterin B gafferin C bletherin D bletherin
E bletherin F cleckin G nil
- 7 A gabblin B yappin C nil D yappin E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A yappin B yammerin C yammerin D nyatterin
- 9 A cleckin: gabblin B cleckin C natterin D nitterin
- 10 A nil: nyitterin B gabblin: nitterin C bletherin
D nyitterin E gabbin F nitterin
- 11 A gabblin B natterin C bletherin D clechin E,F,G nil
- 12 A natterin B yappin C,D nil E gabblin: githerin
F cleckin: nyatterin G yammerin H gabblin
- 13 A nil B natterin C nil D gabblin: yammerin
E natterin
- 14 A clatterin B getherin C nitterin D claverin:
clish-ma-clavers E bletherin F,G nil
- 15 A gabblin: natterin B gabblin: bletherin C natterin
D nil

- 16 A gabblin: bletherin: nyatterin B gabbin C gabblin:
cleckin D nyatterin E nyitterin
- 17 A gabblin B gafferin C bletherin D,E nil F yappin
- 18 A nil B natterin C bletherin
- 19 A gabblin B nil C gabby: gabbin D gabblin E,F,G nil
- 20 A nil B nitterin C nyatterin D cleckin: gabblin
E nitterin F gabbin G gablin
- 21 A nil B gabbit C nyatterin: yatterin D gabbin:
bletherin
- 22 A yatterin B gabbin C yatterin D clashin: blashin
E bletherin
- 23 A yitterin B gabbin C cleckin: yappin D bletherin
E natterin
- 24 A yatterin: gabbin B yammerin: gabbin C yappin D nil
- 25 A bletherin B chitterin C cleckin: gabblin
D bletherin E natterin
- 26 A natterin B gabbin C yappin D bletherin
- 27 A gabbin: natterin B bletherin C gabbin
- 28 A gabbin B bletherin
- 29 A bletherin B,C nil
- 30 A yappin B natterin C nyatterin: githerin D cleckin
E cleckin
- 31 A bletherin B nyatterin C nil D bletherin
E gabblin F gibblin G nyatterin: githerin H clechin:
gabbin

- 32 A clechin B gabbin C bletherin D gabbin
- 33 A nil B bletherin C bletherin D,E nil F bletherin
G nyatterin H nil I clashin
- 34 A cleckin B bletherin C bletherin D nyatterin:
yatterin E bletherin F bletherin G nitterin: yappin
H yappin I yitterin J nil K bletherin L cleckin
M nil
- 35 A bletherin B gabbin: cleckin C yitterin: yatterin
D yatterin: gabbin: bletherin
- 36 A,B nil C bletherin D gabbin E nitterin
- 37 A nitterin B bletherin C natterin: nitterin
D nyitterin: nitterin E nil F bletherin G,H nil
I bletherin
- 38 A bletherin B gabblin C bletherin D yatterin
- 39 A bletherin: cleckin B bletherin C bletherin
- 40 A bletherin B,C nil D bletherin
- 41 A nil B clatterin: clish ma clavers C cleckin:
clashin: bletherin
- 42 A nil B chitterin: bletherin: yammerin C bletherin:
gabbin D yatterin: gabbin: cleckin
- 43 A bletherin B cleckin C,D nil
- 44 A nil B bletherin C nil D bletherin

Item 53 abuse and counter abuse

- 1 A nil B ga'n their knocker C argy-bargy D back snash
- 2 A backsnash B nil C hash and backsnash D snash and backsnash
- 3 A,B nil C argy bargy D backsnash
- 4 A,B,C nil D backsnash
- 5 A nil B backsnash C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A barney B backsnash C backsnash D barney
E backsnash F nil G backsnash
- 7 A,B nil C snash & backsnash D snash E,F,G nil H nil
- 8 A hash & backsnash B nil C barney D misca'in
- 9 A barney: hash and backsnash B nil: barney C,D nil
- 10 A barney B misca'in C nil D barney: snash E nil
F barney
- 11 A nil B nil C backsnash D miscain E backsnash
F snash G nil
- 12 A barney B misca'in C backsnash D nil E barney
F barney G snash H nil
- 13 A nil B snash and back-slash C nil D barney: back-slash E nil
- 14 A barney: hashin and bashin B nil C nil D argy-bargy
E nil F barney G nil
- 15 A barney: snash B barney C snash and backsnash
D barney
- 16 A hash and backsnash: hecklin B nil C barney
D barney E nil

- 17 A skaith B,C,D nil E snash F nil
- 18 A nil B set-tae C argy-bargy: barney
- 19 A miscain B nil C barney D,E,F,G nil
- 20 A,B nil C miscain D barney: miscain E nil F barney
 G miscain
- 21 A nil B barney: snash C miscain D miscain
- 22 A miscain B argy bargy: miscain: barney C miscain
 D argy bargy E nil
- 23 A barney B cyanglin C nil D argy-bargy
- 24 A barney B barney C barney D nil
- 25 A cyanglin: barney B barney C barney D miscain
 E nil
- 26 A cyanglin B barney C miscain D cyanglin E miscain
- 27 A barney: miscain: argy bargy B argy bargy C barney
- 28 A nil B barney
- 29 A argy bargy B nil C barney: cyanglin
- 30 A barney B hash and backsnash C cyanglin D barney
 E barney: siege: hash
- 31 A nil B snash C argy bargy D nil E miscain
 F,G,H nil
- 32 A argy bargy B nil C miscain: backsnash D miscain
- 33 A nil B argy bargy C,D,E nil F miscain: barney
 G,H,I nil
- 34 A miscain B miscain C miscain D nil E barney
 F miscain: barney G cyanglin: argy bargy H nil: miscain
 I barney J,K nil L barney M nil

- 35 A argy bargy B miscain C nil D hash and backsnash
- 36 A,B nil C barney D miscain: barney E miscain
- 37 A argie bargie B nil C argy bargy D nil
 E cyanglin: miscain F miscain G,H nil I miscain
- 38 A miscain B barney C miscain D argy bargy
- 39 A barney B cyanglin C carfuffle
- 40 A,B nil C nil D scaithe
- 41 A cyanglin B collyshangie C snash
- 42 A backsnash B collieshangie: snash C,D nil
- 43 A nil B backsnash: barney C backsnash
- 44 A nil B miscain C nil

Item 54 mixed up fight or brawl

- 1 A brulzie B rammy: stramash C barney D nil
- 2 A rammy B stramash: rammy C barney D tulzie
- 3 A nil B rammy C barney D barney
- 4 A,B,C nil D rammy: barney: stramash: rumpus
- 5 A tirravee B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A rammy B melee C barney: stramash: rammy
D donnybrook: stramash E barney: rammy: stramash
F stramash: hillybaloo: fracaw: rammy G shindy: burney:
hulzie
- 7 A nil B barney: rammy C barney D stooshie E,F nil
G stooshie H nil
- 8 A scrammy B stramash: rammy C barney D nil
- 9 A stramash: rammy: shindy B shindy C nil
D colly'shangie: donnybrook
- 10 A melee B melee: shindy: rammy: barney C nil
D rammy: shindy: stramash E rammy F rammy: shindy
- 11 A rammy: stramash: brulzie B shindy C fecht: barney
D rammy: siege E nil F barney: clamsteery G nil
- 12 A rammy B stramash C rammy D nil E barney:
collyshangie F rammy: stramash: shindy G stramash
H shine
- 13 A barney: stramash B brulzie C nil D stramash:
barney: shindy E nil

- 14 A stramash: rammy B stramash C shindy D collieshangie
E corrieshangie F nil G barney
- 15 A barney: collieshangie B set-tae: collieshangie: stramash
C stramash: shindy: barney D nil
- 16 A collieshangie: stramash: shine: rammy B barney C rammy:
stramash D coalieshangie E rammy
- 17 A rammy B nil C rammy D nil E barney F rammy:
stramash
- 18 A shinty: stramash: barney B melee: shousty C rammy:
stramash: melee: fracaw
- 19 A,B nil C shinty D barney E collieshangie: shindy
F,G nil
- 20 A,B nil C barney: shindy D stramash: rammy E nil
F fecht G rammy
- 21 A nil B donnybrook C rammy D fecht
- 22 A barney B shindy: stramash C shindy D fecht E nil
- 23 A collieshangie B fecht C fecht D stooshie: barney
- 24 A rammy B barney: fracas: carfuffle C carfuffle
D killyshangie
- 25 A rammy B rammy C fecht: rammy: shindy D nil
E shinty
- 26 A nil B nil C carfuffle D shindy: shine
- 27 A fecht B mealie C fecht: kerfuffle: fecht
- 28 A kerfuffle B shindig: kerfuffle
- 29 A nil B rammy: stramash C stooshie
- 30 A stramash: stooshie: fecht B shindy: rammy C rammy

- D nil E tweelie: killy shangie
- 31 A shinty B barney C barney D rammy E barney:
collieshangie: shindy F barney G rammy: shindy: stramash:
melee H nil
- 32 A barney: tirravee B rammy: stramash C rammy
D rammy
- 33 A nil B barney: a fecht C,D,E,F nil G stramash
H nil I rammy
- 34 A fecht B fecht C fecht D nil E fecht: rammy
F barney: fecht G shindy H shindy I fecht
J barney K nil L stramash M nil
- 35 A rammy: stramash B clamjamfery C killieshakie
- 36 A nil B shindy C fecht D barney E fecht
- 37 A nil B barney C stramash D fecht E nil
F fecht G fecht H nil I collyshangie
- 38 A fecht B killishang C fecht D stramash
- 39 A fecht B barney C fecht D nil
- 40 A stramash B fecht C barney D fecht: barney
- 41 A nil B tulzie C barney: rammy: stramash: shindy
- 42 A barney B barney: rammy: shindy C barney: rammy: shindy
D rammy: barney
- 43 A nil B shindig C rammy
- 44 A carfuffle B colly shangie: barney C fecht

Item 56 fooling-around-as-children-do

- 1 A keeowin B caperin C caperin D keeowin
- 2 A, B, C nil D kyo-in
- 3 A gaakin aroon B kyeowin C keeowin D kyeowin
- 4 A, B, C kyowin D nil
- 5 A, B nil C kyowin D kyowin E, F nil
- 6 A kyoin B nil C keowin D keowin E keeowin
F keowin G skivin: daffin
- 7 A keowin B keeooiin C kyowin D cairyin-on E kyoin
F, G, H nil
- 8 A kyoin B kee-owin C nil D nil
- 9 A nil B keeowin C, D nil
- 10 A kee-ow-in aboot B kee-ow-in aboot C nil D kee-ow-in
aboot E kee-ow-in F cairey-on
- 11 A caperin: kee-ow-in B cuttin kyos C kyoin
D keeawin aboot
- 12 A kyowin aboot B keeowin C, D nil E kee owin
F kyoin G kyowin H caperin
- 13 A nil B keeowin C nil D kyowin E nil
- 14 A keeowin B keeowin C caperin D kyowin E kiowin
F, G nil
- 15 A kyoin B kyowin aboot C kee-ow-in D kyoin
- 16 A daffin: kee-ow-in B scraikin: keeowin C nil
D kee-ow-in aboot
- 17 A, B, C, D, E nil F kyoin: caperin

- 18 A keeowin B keeowin aroon C kyowin
- 19 A ga'in their dinger B kyowin C keeyachin D nil
E nil F que-in G nil
- 20 A caperin B caperin C keeowin aboot D daffin
E kyoin: caperin F kyowin G caperin: kyoin
- 21 A nil B keeyachin C kyowin aboot D nil
- 22 A keeohin B caperin C caperin D nil
- 23 A daffin: a great keeoh B kyowin: cuttin kyos C rammy
D caperin
- 24 A gaakin aroon B actin wanely: caperin C gallumphin
D nil
- 25 A caperin B actin wanely C nil D caperin aboot
E caperin
- 26 A cuttin kyos B skivin: cuttin kyos: cuttin capers
C kyoin D keeowin: cuttin kyos
- 27 A caperin B kyowin C keeowin D nil
- 28 A nil B caperin
- 29 A cuttin keeawies B, C nil
- 30 A keeowin B kyowin C kyowin D nil E caperin aboot:
keeowin aboot
- 31 A, B nil C caperin D nil E keeowin F caperin
G keeowin: skivin H gaakin aroon
- 32 A cuttin keos B nil C skivin aroon D caperin
- 33 A caperin B, C, D, E nil F nil G caperin: kyowin
H caperin I caperin

- 34 A daffin B caperin C caperin C, D nil E caperin:
cuttin kyos F gaakin aboot G caperin H kyowin aroon
I, J, K nil L caperin M nil
- 35 A keeowin B, C, D nil
- 36 A kyoin B nil C caperin D keyoyoin E caperin:
gaakin aroon
- 37 A nil B caperin C daffin aroon D gaikin aroon
E caperin F caperin G caperin H daffin I gakin
- 38 A caperin B caperin C nil D caperin: daffin
- 39 A keeawin: caperin aroon B caperin C caperin
- 40 A, B nil C caperin D caperin
- 41 A caperin B caperin C quanglin
- 42 A nil B daffin C caperin D daffin
- 43 A nil B daffin C caperin
- 44 A nil B daffin C nil

Item 57 assistance under-arm

- 1 A oterin: oter-coggin B hookin C oterin D nil
- 2 A oter-coggin B oterin C oterin D oterin
- 3 A oterin B oter-coggin C hookin D oterin
- 4 A oterin B nil C oter-coggin D oterin: oter-coggin
- 5 A nil B oterin alang C oterin D oterin: oter-coggin E oter-coggin
- 6 A oterin B oter coglin C oterin D oterin
E oterin F oterin G lippen: hooken: oterin
- 7 A oterin B nil C oterin D oterin E oterin
F oterin G,H nil
- 8 A oterin B oterin C oterin D nil
- 9 A oterin B gi'en him an oter: oterin C nil
D oterin
- 10 A oterin B oterin C,D nil E oterin F oterin
- 11 A oterin B oterin C oterin D oter-coggin
E oter-coggin F oterin
- 12 A otercog B oterin C oterin D nil E otercoggin
F otercoggin G oterin H oterin
- 13 A oterin B oterin: otercoggin C oterin
D otercoggin: oterin E oterin
- 14 A oterin B oterin C oterin D oterin E oterin
F oter-coggin G oterin
- 15 A oterin B oterin C oterin D oterin
- 16 A oter ye: otercoggin ye B nil C oterin D oterin
E oterin

- 17 A oexterin B nil C oexterin D nil E oexter coggin
F oexterin
- 18 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin: oexter-coggin
- 19 A oexter yin anither B nil C oexterin: oexter-coggin
D oexter-coggin E oexter-coggin F nil G oexterin
- 20 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin D luggin shoodery:
oexterin E oexterin F linkin G oexterin
- 21 A,B nil C oexterin D oexterin
- 22 A nil B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin E hunchin
- 23 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin alang
E oexterin
- 24 A oexterin alang B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin
- 25 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin
- 26 A oexterup B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin E oexterin
- 27 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin
- 28 A oexterin B oexterin
- 29 A oexterin B,C nil
- 30 A gien an oexter: oexter-coggin B oexterin C oexterin
D nil E oexterin
- 31 A under the oexter B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin
E oexterin F nil G oexterin H nil
- 32 A oexterin B oexterin C oexterin D oexterin
- 33 A oexterin B oexterin C,D,E nil F oexterin G oexterin
H oexterin I oexterin

- 34 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin D oxter gruppín
 E oxterin F oxterin G oxterin H oxterin I nil
 J oxterin K oxterin L oxterin M supportin the oxter
- 35 A oxterin B oxterin C nil D oxterin
- 36 A oxterin B nil C oxterin D oysterin hame
 E oxterin
- 37 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin D nil E oxterin
 F oxterin G oxterin H nil I oxterin
- 38 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin D oxterin
- 39 A oxterin B oxterin nil
- 40 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin D nil
- 41 A oxterin B oxterin C nil
- 42 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin D oxterin
- 43 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin
- 44 A oxterin B oxterin C oxterin

Item 58 to work at odd jobs

- 1 A footerin B jobbin C potterin D plowterin
- 2 A skiddlin B plitterin: skiddlin C ploiterin
D plitterin: skiddlin
- 3 A nil B footerin C scutterin D skiddlin
- 4 A skuddlin B,C nil D skitterin
- 5 A nil B potterin C skiddlin D skiddlin
E skuddlin
- 6 A nil B skiddlin C skiddlin D footerin E nil
F skuddlin G nil
- 7 A nil B skivvyin: skiddlin: plitterin C skivvyin:
skiddlin D skivvyin E potterin: skiddlin F,G,H nil
- 8 A,B,C,D nil
- 9 A ditherin: potterin: skiddlin B scutterin C,D nil
- 10 A plitterin: plowterin B plitterin C ployterin
D polterin E plitterin: ployterin F nil: poyterin
- 11 A plowterin B plowterin: skiddlin C plitterin
D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A plooterin B plitterin C plooterin D nil E potterin
F nil: plitterin G powterin H potter aroon
- 13 A nil B scuddin aboot C nil D potterin: plowterin:
plooterin E nil
- 14 A plitterin: poyterin B plitterin C plitterin
D plitterin: plowterin E potterin F powterin G nil
- 15 A footerin B plitterin C skiddlin D nil

- 16 A potterin B plitterin C potterin: plitterin
D plitterin E nil
- 17 A plooterin B,C,D nil E skittlin: plutterin
F ploiterin
- 18 A ployterin B plitterin C ployterin: plowterin: plitterin:
skiddlin
- 19 A potterin: footerin B nil C footerin D plitterin
E skiddlin F,G nil
- 20 A plitterin B ploiterin C plitterin D plowterin:
plitterin: plooterin E nil F plitterin G plitterin
- 21 A plitterin B plowterin C plowterin: plooterin D nil
- 22 A footerin B plitterin C potterin D nil E nil
- 23 A skiddlin B plitterin C plitterin D nil
- 24 A nil B plitterin C nil D potterin
- 25 A plitterin about: ployterin B plitterin: ployterin
C skivin D,E nil
- 26 A plitterin B poyterin: plitterin C plitterin
D plitterin E plitterin
- 27 A gutterin B plitterin C plitterin
- 28 A putterin: plitterin: poyterin B plitterin
- 29 A plitterin B skiddlin C footerin
- 30 A plitterin: ployterin B plowterin C ployterin D nil
E potterin
- 31 A tiddlin about B jobbin: plitterin C ploiterin
D plitterin E plitterin about F nil G plowterin:
potterin H plooterin: plitterin

- 32 A plitterin B scuddlin: plitterin C plitterin
 D plitterin
- 33 A potterin B plitterin C,D,E nil F plitterin
 G plitterin H plitterin I jobbin
- 34 A plitterin B plitterin C plitterin D plitterin
 E potterin F plitterin: potterin G plitterin
 H putterin: potterin I plitterin J plitterin
 K plitterin L putterin: pooterin
- 35 A nil B plitterin C nil D skiddlin E plitterin
- 36 A,B nil C poyterin D plitterin E nil
- 37 A nil B pletterin C plitterin D,E nil F plitterin
 G,H nil I plowterin
- 38 A skiddlin: plitterin B potterin: plitterin C potterin:
 ploytrin D footerin: plitterin: plowterin
- 39 A plowterin: plitterin B,C nil
- 40 A ployterin B nil C plitterin D nil
- 41 A plitterin B plitterin C putterin
- 42 A nil B plitterin C,D nil
- 43 A plitterin B plitterin C nil
- 44 A nil B plitterin C plitterin

Item 64 to stop, cease

- 1 A stan-up B halt C gie up D divalve
- 2 A,B,C nil D dival
- 3 A nil B divar C divalve D nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D lowse
- 5 A,B,C,D nil E divalve F divalve
- 6 A quat B,C nil D quat E lowse F quat: lowse
G quat
- 7 A nil B quat C lowse D quat E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A quat B nil C lowse D nil
- 9 A,B,C nil D gie up
- 10 A lowse B quit C nil D quit E nil F quit
- 11 A haud: dival B quat C nil D lowse E,F,G nil
- 12 A dival B lowse C,D nil E loose: quit F dival
G nil H nil
- 13 A nil B quat C dival D,E nil
- 14 A barley: devalve B lowse C drap: lowse D devall
E devall
- 15 A deval B drap C gang ower D lowse
- 16 A devall B nil C quit D lowse E nil
- 17 A lowse B divalve C,D,E nil F gie ower
- 18 A drap B devalve C devalve
- 19 A lowse B nil C quat E devalve
- 20 A nil B nil C halt D slackin time: lowse: drap
E drap F drap G drap

- 21 A nil B lowse C drap D divalve
- 22 A quat B drap: lowse C lowse D nil E drap
- 23 A quat: divall B quit: lowse: drap C quat D drap:
devalve
- 24 A lowse B lowse: quat: never divalled C lowse D nil
- 25 A lowse: drap: dival B nil C dival D lowse
- 26 A devalve B lowse C lowse: drap D lowse: drap: divall
E lowse: drap
- 27 A gie up: drap B lowse C scale: never divalled
- 28 A drap: its slackit B gie ower
- 29 A never divalled B nil C lows in time
- 30 A nil B dival C never divalved D nil E drappin time:
never devalled
- 31 A nil B lows in C nil D drappin time E it never
divalled: lows in time: drappin time F nil G drap
H lowse
- 32 A drap B lows in: slacken C gie ower D drap
- 33 A drap B "gae by" (imperative) C,D nil E drap
F nil G drap: lowse H lowse I "gie ower" (imper.)
- 34 A haud off B drap C lowse D nil E lowse F lowse
G drap H lowse I,J,K nil L drap M nil
- 35 A devalve B drap: lowse: never divalved C never
divalved D nil E drap
- 36 A,B nil C drap: never divalled D drap: lowse
E drappin time

- 37 A nil B "gae ower" (imper.) C lowse: wi'out devallin
 D,E nil F drappin: lows in G nil H lowse I never
 divalved
- 38 A lowse B lowse: never divalved C nil D lowse: drap
- 39 A drap: lowse: never divalves B devallied C give ower
- 40 A gie ower B never devalved C never divalve D lowse:
 give ower
- 41 A nil B haud on C lowse
- 42 A nil B lowse C lowse D lowse
- 43 A nil B lowse C nil
- 44 A nil B drap C nil

Item 66 to extricate oneself by argument

- 1 A talk hi'sel oot B,C,D nil
- 2 A wheeble B,C nil D cangle
- 3 A nil B talk yersel oot C,D nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D cangle on
- 5 A wheegle B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A,B,C nil D talk himsel oot E wheedle F wheedle
G nil
- 7 A,B,C nil D wheegle E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A,B nil C wheedle D nil
- 9 A wheedle B wrigglin oot C nil D slieve
- 10 A threep B cangle C nil D cangle E nil
F wrangle his way oot
- 11 A wheegle B wheedle C talk yersel' oot D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A,B,C,D,E nil F cangle
- 13 A nil B wheeble C,D,E nil
- 14 A wheegle B wheegle: wheedle C brazen D wheeble
E wheedle oot o't
- 15 A nil B wrangle: fin' his wey oot C wheedle
- 16 A,B,C nil D wheedle yersel oot E nil
- 17 A cangle B,C,D,E,F nil
- 18 A whiggle B nil C wheegle: wheetle
- 19 A,B nil C wrangle D cangle E threep D wheedle
E,F,G nil
- 20 A,B,C,D nil E threep F backin oot G nil

- 21 A,B,C nil D tak yesel oot
- 22 A get oot o't B wriggle oot C get oot o't D tak yersel oot
- 23 A nil B wheedle oot C slitter oot D tak yersel oot
- 24 A tak yer wey oot B threep: tak hersel oot C,D nil
- 25 A to slither B nil C wrangle oot D,E nil
- 26 A wheedle oot B nil C wangle C wheedle oot
- 27 A tak themsels oot B slither oot C slither oot D nil
- 28 A slither oot B nil
- 29 A tak yersel oot B,C nil
- 30 A taked himsel oot B,C,D nil E wriggle oot
- 31 A nil B tak yersel oot C nil D wheedle E slither F nil G wheeble H nil
- 32 A,B,C nil D argyin the toss
- 33 A argy yersel oot B wangl oot C,D,E,F nil G slither oot H nil I tak yersel oot
- 34 A nil B wriggle oot C wriggle oot D nil E tak yersel oot F wangle oot G nil H wangl I,J,K nil L wheedle oot M tak yersel oot
- 35 A wrangle B,C nil D wheetle oot
- 36 A,B wheedle oot C cyangle yer wey oot D treep yer wey oot
- 37 A nil B wangl oot C threep D,E nil F wriggle oot G,H nil: wheedle oot
- 38 A wheedle oot B threep C,D nil

- 39 A wangle oot B nil C wangle oot
40 A wangle oot B tak yersel oot C,D nil
41 A,B nil C threep D nil
42 A,B,C nil D get oot o't
43 A,B,C nil
44 A,B,C nil

Item 71 to poke

- 1 A proddle B nil C nil D nil
- 2 A proddle B proddle C proggle: proddle D proddle:
steer
- 3 A prodde B proitle C prod D prod: proddle
- 4 A,B,C,D nil
- 5 A proitle B proitle C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A progue B prodlin C nil D prod E steer F brock:
brog G dab
- 7 A nil B prod C nil D prod E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A proddle B proggle: prottle C proggle D nil
- 9 A proddle B ripe C proggle D ripe
- 10 A jab: powter: ripe B ripe C prod D jab: jag: ripe
E jab: ripe F jab: ripe
- 11 A prod B nil C proddle D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A prockle: ripe B prockle C prockle D,E nil
F steer: ripe: proggle G ripe: prog H prod
- 13 A ripe B prokle C prokle D,E nil
- 14 A powter B jab C hoke D powter: ripe E powter: ripe:
proddle into F,G nil
- 15 A steer B ripe: proitle C ripe: proddle D steer:
proddle
- 16 A rifle: ripe B ripe C progle D prod: ripe
E steer up: proggle
- 17 A nil B,C,D nil E proakle: prod: jab F ripe

- 18 A rycle: progle B ripe C ripe: proggles: proddle
- 19 A prod: prokle B ripe C progle D proggles E,F,G nil
- 20 A dap B ripe: rake: jab C hoke: plunge D pooter
E prod F prod G prod: ripe
- 21 A nil B ripe C steer D ripe: steer
- 22 A prode B steer C prod D ripe
- 23 A ripe B prod: ripe C ripe D kittle: dab: risle (rislin)
- 24 A prod: ripe B ripe C ripe D nil
- 25 A pork B ripe C steer D ripe E proggles
- 26 A ripe: howk B ripe C hoke D ripe
- 27 A steer B prod: proddle C ripe
- 28 A steer: ripe B nil
- 29 A jag B ripe C jab
- 30 A progle: ripe B prod: proggles C ripe D ripe E ripe
- 31 A ripe B jab: ripe C steer D hoke E ripe
F proggles G ripe H nil
- 32 A pork B prod: pork: ripe C dab: steer: pork: ripe
D ripe
- 33 A risle (rislin) B pork: ripe C steer D nil E prod
F prod: ripe: pooter G rod H ripe
- 34 A ripe B poke: ripe C ripe D steer: prod E ripe
F ripe: jab G steer H prod at I ripe J,K nil
L ripe M nil
- 35 A ripe B ripe C nil D ripe
- 36 A prod B pork C ripe D prog: ripe E steer up: ripe

- 37 A ripe B nil C ripe D nil E ripe F,G,H nil
 I pork
- 38 A ripe B,C,D nil
- 39 A ripe B howk C,D nil
- 40 A ripe B ripe C ripe: pork D ripe
- 41 A nil B pork C prod: steer: dag: dab
- 42 A,B nil C howk D steer
- 43 A nil B steer C nil
- 44 A ripe B prodge C nil

Item 74 to go for a ride on a vehicle

- 1 A sail B nil C traipsying D nil
- 2 A,B nil C sail D sail
- 3 A nil B sail C gallanting D sail
- 4 A,B nil C sail D jaunt: scoot
- 5 A nil B galivant C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A sail B nil C sail D rake: jaunt E nil F sail
- 7 A nil B hurl C nil D hurl
- 8 A nil B sail C sail D hurl
- 9 A scoot B gallivantin C,D nil
- 10 A sail B gallivantin C,D,E nil F run
- 11 A sail: scoot B sail C sail D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A sail B ootin: scoot C sail D sail E jaunтин:
sail: spin F sail: carrunt G jaunтин: sail
- 13 A gallivantin B sail C hurl D sail
- 14 A airin: sail: scoot-doon B gallivantin: sail
C galavant D sail E gallivant F sail G daunder
- 15 A hurl B scoot: sail: hurl C sail D gallivant: skite:
sail
- 16 A nil B gallivantin C sail: gallivantin: scoot
D hurl E sail
- 17 A,B nil C sail D hurl E hurl F birl
- 18 A sail B sail C stravaigan: gallivant: sail
- 19 A,B nil C taking a jaunt D jant E,F,G nil
- 20 A gallivant B hurl C jant D gallivant E hurl
F hurl G hurl

- 21 A,B nil C hurl D hurl
- 22 A gallivantin B hurl C jaunt D,E nil
- 23 A nil B hurl C jaunt D daunner: gallivant
- 24 A gallivant: hurl B hurl C jaunten D nil
- 25 A nil B galavin C gallivantin D,E nil
- 26 A hurl B hurl C hurl D nil
- 27 A jaunt-roon B jaunt: hurl C hurl
- 28 A hurl B jant
- 29 A gallivantin B hurl C nil
- 30 A sail B ooten: sail C ride D hurl E gallivantin:
traipsin
- 31 A,B,C,D nil E hurl F jant G hurl: spin H gallivantin
- 32 A gallivantin B hurl C jaunt D jerivise
- 33 A hurl B hurl C gallivant D stravaig E nil
F gallivant G hurl H hurl I hurl
- 34 A hurl B hurl C hurl D hurl E hurl F hurl
G trip H hurl I jant J,K nil L hurl M hurl
- 35 A hurl B jaunt C hurl D hurl
- 36 A hurl B,C nil D hurl E hurl
- 37 A hurl B hurl C hurl D nil E hurl F nil
G hurl H nil I hurl
- 38 A hurl B hurl C hurl D hurl
- 39 A hurl B jant C nil
- 40 A hurl: a merry courant B hurl C hurl D nil
- 41 A,B nil C gallivant

- 42 A,B nil C gallivant D raikin: stravaigan
43 A hurl B hurl: gallivant C hurl: gallivantin
44 A nil B hurl C hurl: jaunt

Item 77 rumour

- 1 A,B,C,D nil
- 2 A,B,C nil D pant
- 3 A,B,C nil D blether
- 4 A,B,C nil D ferlie
- 5 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A pant B,C,D,E nil F bruit G souch
- 7 A,B,C nil D pant E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A ferlie B,C,D nil
- 9 A whusper B whumper C,D nil
- 10 A souch B clash C nil D clash: souch E yarn
F clash
- 11 A nil B souch: clash C,D,E,F,G nil
- 12 A,B nil C siege D nil E clash F clash
- 13 A nil B clash C,D,E nil
- 14 A souch B heard-tell C,D nil E souch F,G nil
- 15 A gossip B souch C nil D whumper
- 16 A,B,C,D,E nil
- 17 A siege B,C,D,E,F nil
- 18 A clash B whumper C whumper: clash: souch
- 19 A gossip B clash C clash D,E,F,G nil
- 20 A nil B whumper C nil D whusper: clash: story: blether
E gossip F yarn G tale
- 21 A clash B,C,D nil
- 22 A souch B whusper C whusper D nil E clash

- 23 A clash: sooch B yarn: tale C,D nil
- 24 A whusper B,C,D nil
- 25 A clash B nil C whusper D,E nil
- 26 A,B nil C yarn D whumper: carried clash E cairrit clash
- 27 A gossip B nil C gossip: cairit-clash: yarn
- 28 A nil B heard-tell o'
- 29 A,B,C nil
- 30 A cairid-clash B nil C souch D nil E whisper
- 31 A,B nil C hear say D gossip E whisper F clash
G,H nil
- 32 A souch B clash C whisper D gossip: clash
- 33 A nil B yarn C,D,E,F nil G gossip H,I nil
- 34 A tale B they say: story C,D nil E story: yarn
F clash G nil H spay: yarn I,J,K nil L whisper
M nil
- 35 A clash B yarn C nil: yarn D carrit-clash
- 36 A carried story B,C,D nil D yarn E yarn
- 37 A nil B whisper C clash D,E nil F story G they say
H the clash I nil
- 38 A clash B,C nil D clash
- 39 A nil B yarn C,D nil
- 40 A nil B yarn C nil D whisper
- 41 A nil B clash C nil
- 42 A,B nil C tale D pant
- 43 A,B,C nil
- 44 A nil B clash C nil

Item 78 funny story or incident

- 1 A pant B siege C,D nil
- 2 A,B nil C siege D pant
- 3 A,B nil C pant D nil
- 4 A pant B pant C siege D siege
- 5 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A set: siege B pant: set: siege C pant D crack
E pant: siege F pant: splore G brainge
- 7 A siege B nil C pant D nil E,F,G nil
- 8 A,B nil C pant D nil
- 9 A pant: siege B pant C,D nil
- 10 A pant B,C nil D pant E nil F richt guid yin
- 11 A baur: pant B pant C guid yin D pant E,F,G nil
- 12 A pant: siege B,C,D nil E pant F pant G pant
H pant
- 13 A carry on B pant: siege C,D,E nil
- 14 A pant B,C nil D pant E pant F,G nil
- 15 A nil B siege: took C nil D nil
- 16 A pant: antic B nil C took: keo D,E nil
- 17 A set B pant C siege D,E,F nil
- 18 A,B nil C pant
- 19 A guid yin B nil C took D pant E,F,G nil
- 20 A,B nil C richt guid yin: set D pant: ploy: took
E tear: set F pant G nil
- 21 A nil B pant: tear C pant: guid yin D pant: guid yin

- 22 A pant: took: siege B pant: guid yin C guid yin D nil
- 23 A set B set: kyo C pant D nil
- 24 A guid yin: pant B guid yin C pant: guid yin
- 25 A guid yin B yarn: pant: tear C guid yin: pant D,E nil
- 26 A guid yin B guid yin: set C guid yin: pant D set
- 27 A yarn: pant B guid yin: set C guid yin: pant
- 28 A guid yin B pant: set
- 29 A pant B guid yin C nil
- 30 A pant B pant C siege D nil E pant: merry courant
- 31 A,B nil C scoot D pant E guid yin F tear: siege
G guid yin H set
- 32 A pant B tear: pant C pant D guid yin
- 33 A pant B pant C,D,E nil F baur G set: pant
H set I nil
- 34 A pant B pant: guid yin C yarn: pant D guid yin
E set F set G yarn H pant I guid yin J pant
K nil L guid yin: richt set M nil
- 35 A kyo: pant: set B pant: set: kyo C pant D tear: set
- 36 A guid yin B pant C set: guid yin D set: guid yin
E set: pant
- 37 A pant B set C barr: pant D nil E pant: set
F pant: guid yin G,H nil I set: guid yin
- 38 A nil B pant: set C tear D yarn
- 39 A guid yin: pant B set C tear
- 40 A pant: set B pant: set C pant: brainge D nil

- 41 A tear B pant C tear
42 A,B nil C yarn D nil
43 A nil B tear C nil
44 A nil B set C nil

Item 79

- 1 A, B nil C antic D nil
- 2 A antic B nil C antic D antic
- 3 A nil B antic C nil D antic
- 4 A, B, C, D nil
- 5 A, B, C, D, E nil
- 6 A nil B antic C, D, E, F, G nil
- 7 A antic B antic C, D, E, F, G, H nil
- 8 A, B, C, D nil
- 9 A nil B antic C, D nil
- 10 A wag B kyo C, D nil E worthy: keo F kee-o-boy
- 11 A wag B keo C nil D anteen E, F, G nil
- 12 A, B nil C antic D nil E antic: keeo F kyo: antic
G, H nil
- 13 A nil B kee-o: antic C, D, E nil
- 14 A character: antic: kee-o B kyo C nil D joker: keeo
E worthy F kyo: antic G nil
- 15 A kyo B kyo C antic D nil
- 16 A kee-o B nil C kee-o D wag E kyo
- 17 A, B, C, D, E, F nil
- 18 A antic B kyo C kyo D antic
- 19 A kee-o B nil C kee-o D, E, F, G nil
- 20 A, B, C, D, E nil F kyo G wag
- 21 A, B nil C worthy D nil
- 22 A kee-o: antic B wag: worthy C, D nil

- 23 A nil B wag C worthy D nil
- 24 A wag B worthy C, D nil
- 25 A worthy B nil C wag D, E nil
- 26 A worthy B worthy C wag: kyo D kyo E wag: worthy
- 27 A worthy B worthy C worthy
- 28 A worthy B cure
- 29 A worthy B, C nil
- 30 A kee-o B kyo: antic C antic D character E nil
- 31 A, B, C nil D nil E nil F nil G wag H nil
- 32 A, B nil C cure D worthy
- 33 A wag B worthy: wag C, D nil E wag F kyo G, H nil
I wag
- 34 A worthy B wag C wag D nil E wag: worthy
F worthy G wag H wag I worthy J, K, L nil
M droll yin
- 35 A worthy B worthy C, D nil
- 36 A wag B kyo: worthy C worthy D worthy E wag: worthy
- 37 A wag B wag: worthy C wag D wag E worthy F, G nil
H wag I cure
- 38 A wag: cure B kyo: worthy C worthy D wag
- 39 A worthy B wag C, D nil
- 40 A worthy B, C nil D wag
- 41 A worthy B, C nil
- 42 A, B, C, D nil
- 43 A, B, C nil
- 44 A nil B wag C, D nil

Item 80 precipitately, in a sudden rush

- 1 A ramstam B nil C heid-lang D nil
- 2 A,B,C nil D ramstam
- 3 A,B nil C stamsterry D nil
- 4 A,B,C,D nil
- 5 A camsteery B brainge C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A ramstam B,C nil D ramstam E nil F ramstam
G braingin
- 7 A stamsteery B brainge C stamsteery: ramstam D ramstam
E breenge-at F,G,H nil
- 8 A ramstam: braingin: widdershins B camsteery: widdershins
C brainge: ramstam D nil
- 9 A ramstam: camsteery: braingin B ramstam C,D nil
- 10 A braingin B braingin C nil D braingin E braingin
F brainge into: ramsteery
- 11 A breenge B ramstam C rammin and stammin: tearin
D ramstammin E braingin F,G nil
- 12 A ramstam B braingin C ramstam D nil E brainge into
F brainged at it G braingin: stamjam: camstam
H braingin in
- 13 A braingin B brainge C nil D ramstam: braingin E nil
- 14 A braingin: ramstam B braingin C stamsteer: in a steer
D ramstam E brainge F,G nil H braingin
- 15 A ramstam: braingin B brainge-in: ramstam C ramsteery
D ramstam: braingin

- 16 A braingin B rammin and stammin C nil D ramstam
E braingin/breengin
- 17 A ramstam B brainge C ramstam D,E nil F brainge
- 18 A,B nil C took a brainge: ramstam: stamsteery
- 19 A braingin: ramstam B brainge-in: ramstam C brainged-into:
ramstammle D brainge in: ramstam E,F,G nil
- 20 A nil B breenge C brainge-in D breenge-into
E brainge F braingin G reeskin
- 21 A nil B brainge: ramstam C braingin-in D brainge
- 22 A ramstam: braingin B a flee: braingin C brainge-in
D heid first
- 23 A in a flee: ramstam B brainge at C breenge D brainge
- 24 A nil B brainge C,D nil
- 25 A braingin B brainge-in C brainge D nil
- 26 A brainge-in B brainged-in C breengin D brainge-in
E breenge
- 27 A brainge B breengein C brynge
- 28 A braingin: ramstam: ramstammin B breenge
- 29 A breenge B brainge C nil
- 30 A brynge: ramstam B nil C brainge D bringein at it:
brin'in at it: breezin E took a brainge at it: ramstam
- 31 A,B,C,D nil D bryngin: ramstam F nil G bryngin
H nil
- 32 A brainge B ramstam: breenge C brynge: ramstam
D brainge

- 33 A brainge in B brainge-in C,D,E,F nil G braingin
 H in a stoor I flee at it
- 34 A brainge B brainge-in: ramstam C bringein D nil
 E breenge F braingin G breengin-in H brynge
 I,J,K nil L brynge M nil
- 35 A braingin B brainge C ramstam D makin a brynge:
 braingin
- 36 A braingin B nil C brynge D brainge E braingin
- 37 A breengin B braingin C ramstam: tapsalteerie
 D breenged E breenge F breengin G,H nil I nil
- 38 A abreenge-on B brainge C a' at yince D breinge
- 39 A breenged in B nil C braingin thru'
- 40 A breengin B brynge C nil D braingin
- 41 A,B nil C braingin: ramstam
- 42 A nil B breinge: ramsteerie C braingin D brainge:
 ramstam
- 43 A breenge B stamsteery C stamjam
- 44 A nil B breengin C nil

Item 83 kiss given to celebrate something new

This item was included to try to ascertain if the word 'baiverage' was in use/known/remembered. The SND description of the word is -

n. a fine in the form of money or drink demanded of anyone wearing a new suit or article of clothing.

It is now most commonly used of the kiss taken from a girl by her friend or friends or given by her on the occasion of her wearing something new.

Mostly in the phr. give, get, have, take - the beverage. Gall. 1824 Mact. Gallovid. Encyclo, Gall. 1901 Trotter Gall Gossip (Patterson 1880, Marshall 1905 and Traynor 1953 confirm Irish usage).

'baiverage' was given on 8 occasions viz. 1C, 3D, 5E, 14D, 22B, 29B, 36E, 38B (i.e. 4 each in the two counties and spread right across).

Item 84 frightening

- 1 A oorie B fleesom C awsom D fleyin: fleysom
- 2 A,B,C,D nil
- 3 A nil B fleesom C flysom D frichtsom
- 4 A nil B scarry C nil D scarry
- 5 A flysom: flig B scarr C scarr D fearsom E,F nil
- 6 A frichtsom B scarry C flysom D flarsom: scarr
E fligsom F eerie G scaury
- 7 A scaur B feart D scaurin D feart E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A gruesom B flysom C fleysom D flysom
- 9 A nil B flyson C nil D frichtsom
- 10 A flysom B flichtsom C awsom: gruesom D flysom
E flysom F frichtsom: flysom
- 11 A awsom B scaurd C fleysom D scarry E flysom
F flysom G nil
- 12 A flysom: fleysom B fearsom: scarred C fearsom
D feart E nil F feert G fearsom: oorie H eerie
- 13 A fleysom B feart: fleysom C,D,E nil
- 14 A nil B frichtenin C nil D frichtsom E scairt:
feart F flysom G feart
- 15 A awsom B flysom C frichtsom D flysom
- 16 A flysom B frichtsom C nil D flysom E flisom
- 17 A scarry B nil C frichtsom D,E nil F scarrin
- 18 A flyin B flysom C flysom
- 19 A awfu' scarr B flysom: awfu' scarr C scarrin D flysom:
scarred E,F,G nil

- 20 A,B nil C frichtsom D fearsom E flysom F flysom
G flysom
- 21 A,B nil C flysom D flysom
- 22 A fearsom: flysom B flysom: awsom C flyin D flisom
- 23 A frichtsom B flysom C flichtsom
- 24 A frichtsom: flysom B fearsom C fearsom D feart
- 25 A flysom B flysom C flysom D flysom
- 26 A frichtsom B frightsom: fearsom C nil D flysom
E flysom
- 27 A frichtnin B flisom C awsom: feert
- 28 A frichtsom: fleysom B flysom: fleesom
- 29 A nil B frichtenin C nil
- 30 A nil B scarrin C frichtin D fearsom E fleysom
- 31 A nil B awsom C fearsom D,E nil F flisom
G fearsom: flysom: gruesom: awsom H flysom
- 32 A fleysom: flysom B fleesom C flysom D fearsom:
frichtsom
- 33 A fearsom B,C,D,E nil F flysom G flysom H flysom:
fleesom
- 34 A flysom B fearsom C fearsom D flysom E flysom
F flysom G nil H flysom I,J,K nil L flysom M nil
- 35 A awsom B feart C nil D a flae
- 36 A fleesom B cagliff D flysom E flysom
- 37 A nil B flysom: fearsom C flysom D nil E flisom
F frichtsom G nil H nil I a gliff

- 38 A nil B fleysom C nil C fleysom
- 39 A frichtsom B feart C a gliff
- 40 A a'som B frichtsom C flysom D a gliff
- 41 A nil B fley C fearsom
- 42 A frichtinin: flysom B flysom: fearsom C fearsom
 D fearsom: a gliff
- 43 A feartsom B feert C nil
- 44 A flichtered B flysom C nil D fearfie

Item 87 an exceptionally good thing

This item laid itself open to slang responses and a variety was given.

'rumdinger' was given 7 times, viz. 1D, 2C, 3D, 5E, 6B, 14D and E, all in Wigtownshire, and may have associations with 'humdinger' (American slang) but is given also by Traynor (1953) as from Donegal

Variations on 'guid' were the nearest to dialect as distinct to slang, viz.

guid 37A guid yin 23C, 27C extra-guid 26D

rale guid 37C awfu guid 12B, 14B, 20B, 21C, 26D, 27A, 34E

unco-guid 13E, 16A, 19A, 20D, 26D, 27A, 34A, 35A, 37A

gey-guid 14E for bye-guid 18C

a'som guid 20F

Item 88 new or unusual thing

- 1 A newance B nil C unco-thing D nil
- 2 A newance B splinterin new C newance D splinnerin new:
split new
- 3 A unco B newance C,D nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D splinterin new
- 5 A new fangled B newance C newance D newance E nil
- 6 A,B nil C newance D nil E,F,G nil
- 7 A,B,C nil D splinter new E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A unco B newance C newance
- 9 A nil B newance C,D nil
- 10 A newance B newance: splinterin new C new-fangled
D new-fangled E splint new F new-fangled: splint-new
- 11 A new fangled B newance C,D nil E newance
F new-fangled G newance
- 12 A unco B splinter new C splinter new D newance
E splinterin new F newance G newance H newance
- 13 A newance B,C,D nil E new fangled
- 14 A unca B new fangled C nil D forbye-nice E newance
F new fangled G nil
- 15 A splinterin new B splint new C split new D newance
- 16 A nil B oot o' the ornar C splinterin new
D an unco thing: new fangled wi' it
- 17 A newance B splinterin new C,D nil E new fangled:
newance F sleet new: new brent

- 18 A split new: new fangled B new fangled wi' it: splint new
C by ornar
- 19 A splint new B new fangled wi' it C new fangled
D newance E new fangled F nil G newance
- 20 A newance B nil C new fangled wi' it D bra': afie guid
E new fanglit F nil G new fangled
- 21 A nil B new fangled wi' it C nil D new fangled
- 22 A splint new B nil C splint new D nil
- 23 A ferlie B nil C new fangl't wi' it D split new;
new fangled
- 24 A new fangl't wi' it B new fangled wi it: splint new
C splint new D nil
- 25 A new fangl't B ferlie C new fangled wi':
split new D nil E nil
- 26 A splint new: new fangled wi it B splint new: new fangled
wi' it C splint new D new fangled wi' it E splint new:
new fangled wi'
- 27 A splint new: new fangl't B splint new: new fangl't wi'
C new fangled: splint new
- 28 A splint new B new fangled wi'
- 29 A by ordnar B split new C new fangl't wi'
- 30 A new fangled wi' B unco: newance C splint new
D splint new E splint new: new fangled
- 31 A nil B spit new C nil D new fangled about it
E,F nil G new fangled: splint new H new fangled about it:
splint new

- 32 A split new B new fangled wi' it C spit new: new fangled
wi it D new fangled
- 33 A never seen ocht like B,C nil D unco E nil
F split new: new fangl't G split new: new fangled H nil
I new fangled
- 34 A ferly B splint new C splint new D nil E splint
new: new fangl't wi' F new fangled wi' G nil H split
new: new fangled wi' I,J,K nil L new fangled about it
M nil
- 35 A,B,C nil D new fangled
- 36 A,B nil C newance D new fangl't E new fangl't
- 37 A nil B new fangl't C new fangled D new fangled wi'
E new fangled wi' the thing F new fang'lt: unco
G new fangled wi' it: split new
- 38 A new fangled wi' it: split new B nil C nil D ferlie
- 39 A new fangled wi': split new B nil C kindeedle
- 40 A new fangled wi it B new fangled wi' C,D nil
- 41 A splint-new B nil C split new
- 42 A nil B ferlie C split new D new fangled
- 43 A,B,C nil
- 44 A nil B new fangled C,D nil

Item 92 how would you say - she's very like her mother

- 1 A a'fu like: drawn-image B spittin-image: affa like
 C gey-like D drawn-image: spit
- 2 A spittin-image: spit o': drawn-image B spittin-image
 C spittin-image: drawn-image D spittin-image
- 3 A nil B spittin-image C spittin-image: drawn-image
 D drubble
- 4 A drawn-image B nil C spit o' D spittin-image:
 drawn-image
- 5 A nil B drawn-image: awfa-like C nil D spittin-image
 E drawn-image
- 6 A spittin-image B nil C spittin-image: drawn-image
 D spittin-image E spitten image F gey like: spit o':
 drawn-image G awfu like
- 7 A drawn-image: awfu like: spitten-image B spit
 C her mither's spit: spittin image D afa like E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A drawn-image: spittin image B spittin-image: drawn-
 image C spittin: taks efter D nil
- 9 A very spit o' B awfu' like C nil D spittin image
- 10 A spittin-image: drawn-image B spittin-image C gey-like
 D gey-like: spittin-image E spittin-image F gey-like:
 spittin image: awfu' like
- 11 A spit o': drawn-image B dead spit: drawn-image
 C spittin-image D drawn-image: spittin-image E nil
 F splittin-image

- 12 A spittin-image B,C nil D geylike E drawn image
F drawn image G spit o' H affy like: spit o'
- 13 A spittin-image B spittin-image C aside D spittin-image
E nil
- 14 A spit o': spittin-image: very image B spit o': spitten
image C taks efter D leevin image: spittin-image
E drawn image F jist like: geylike: drawn-image G nil
- 15 A spitten-image B spitten-image C spitten-image: spit o'
D very spit
- 16 A spit image B drawn-image C nil D splittin-image
E the leevin spit
- 17 A drawn-image B,C,D nil E spitten image F nil
- 18 A spitten image B jist like her mither's spit
C spitten-image
- 19 A gey-like: awfu-like: drawn-image: spitten-image B her
mither's image: spitten-image C taks efter D very spit o':
spitten-image E gey-like F,G nil
- 20 A spitten-image B gey-like C spitten-image D spitten-
image: very dab o' E spit o' F spittin-image: drawn
image G awfu like: gey-like
- 21 A spitten-image B spitten-image C awfu-like: spittin-
image D spitten-image
- 22 A afa like B spittin-image: spit o' C spittin-image
D spitten image
- 23 A spitten-image B spit o': spitten image C awfy-like:
gey-like: spittin-image: drawn-image D spitten-image

- E taks efter: a born image
- 24 A very spit o': spitten-image: drawn-image B unca-like
C the image: spitten-image D a-som
- 25 A gey like B gey like: spit-image C spit-image
D taks efter
- 26 A spitten-image B spitten-image C spittin-image: awfu'
 like D spittin-image E spittin-image
- 27 A gey-like B spittin-image C spittin-image D nil
- 28 A awfu like B spitten image
- 29 A spitten image B spittin image C nil
- 30 A awfu' like: spittin-image B spitten-image C awfu' like:
 she swops her mither D afie like: spittin image E very
 spit o': spittin image
- 31 A spit o' B the very image C spittin image D nil
E the very spit o': drawn image F spit G spitten-image
H dead spit: gey-like
- 32 A spitten-image B spitten-image C spitten-image
D spit o'
- 33 A a born image B her mither ower agin C,D,E nil
F spittin-image G awfu' like H spittin-image I the spit
- 34 A her mither's spit: her mither's dooble: spittin image
B jist her mither a' oo agin C her mither a ower agin
D spit o': spittin-image E spitten-image F awfu' like:
 gey like: spittin image G spitten-image H spitten-image
I spitten-image J nil K image L spitten-image
M mither's dooble

- 35 A spit o': drawn image B gey-like C spitten-image
D nil
- 36 A spit o' B nil C spitten-image: drawn-image: spit o'
D spittin-image: drawn-image E spittin-image
- 37 A spitten-image B spit and image C spitten image
D spitten-image E spitten-image F her mither a'oo agin
G nil H drawn image I very image
- 38 A drawn-image: very image B spitten-image C awfy like
D spitten image
- 39 A spit B spit o' C the spit
- 40 A spittin-image: spit o' B spittin-image C spittin
image D awfie like
- 41 A,B nil C deid spit o'
- 42 A unco B spit o': spittin image C spittin image
D awfie like: drawn image
- 43 A image B spit o'
- 44 A unco like B she kins efter C spitten image

Item 101 How would you say - Is it to your satisfaction?

This item was included to try to ascertain if the expression 'Is it to your pleasement?' was in use/known/remembered.

In fact it was given on 20 occasions viz:

2D, 4D, 5E, 6A,B,C, 7A,C, 9B, 11A, 12A,C,H, 13A,C,D, 15A, 16D, 17A, 19D (i.e. all but one in Wigtownshire and the one just across the Cree).

('to your pleasin'' was also given twice, viz:

20D, 30A).

Item 102 specks of soot-flying around room

- 1 A flockins B nil C soot draps D flowins
- 2 A flowins B,C nil D flowins
- 3 A nil B flowins C flichters D flowins
- 4 A flowins B nil C smugs D flowins
- 5 A nil B flowins C nil D flowins E flowins
- 6 A flichters B flowins C flowins D stoor E flecks
F smeek: smet G coom
- 7 A flowins B,C nil D stoor E,F nil G flowins
H nil
- 8 A flichens B flowans: flechters C smotes D nil
- 9 A nil B flowins C nil D blaw-doon
- 10 A stoor: flickins B flichters C bla' doon: flichters
D flickins
- 11 A flowins B bla' doon C flichens D flowins
E flichens F bla' doon G nil
- 12 A styoochin B bla' doon: styooked C,D nil
E flowins F flowins G flowins H flowins
- 13 A flichers B fluffins C,D,E nil
- 14 A flichters B flichters C nil D nil E flowans
F flichens G flowins
- 15 A flechers B flichens C flichters D nil
- 16 A flechins B bla' doon: flowins: flechters: styookin
C flowins D flichters E flichters: flowins

- 17 A fleckins B flichters C flichters D,E nil
 F flichens
- 18 A flichters B flichters C flichens D flichters
- 19 A nil B flichens: bla' doon C flowins D flichens:
 flichters E nil F flichters G flichens
- 20 A nil B flichens C flichens D flichens
 E flithens F flichens G flichens
- 21 A flichens B nil C fluchens D flichens
- 22 A flickerins B flichens C nil D flechins
- 23 A flichens B flichters: flichens C flichens
 D flechins
- 24 A flichens B flichens C nil D flechens
- 25 A flichens B flichens C flichins D flichens
- 26 A flichens: flechins B flickens C flickens
 D flichens E flichens: flechens
- 27 A nil B nil C nil
- 28 A nil B nil
- 29 A flichens B flichens C flichters: flichens
- 30 A nil B flichens C flechins C flichens E flichans
- 31 A flichens B flichens C,D,E nil F flichens
 G smugs H flichens
- 32 A flichens B nil C flichens D flichens
- 33 A fleckins B nil C flichens D fleckens E nil
 F flichens G flichens H flichens I flichens

- 34 A flichens B flichens C flechins D flichars
 E flichens G flichens H flichens I flichens
 J flickins K nil L flichens M fleckins
- 35 A flichens B flichens C,D nil
- 36 A flechans B flichens C flichens D flichens
 E flichens
- 37 A flickins B flichens C flichens D,E nil
 F flichans G,H nil I nil
- 38 A flichens B flichens C flichens D flichens
- 39 A bla' doon B,C nil
- 40 A flichens B,C nil D flichens
- 41 A,B,C nil
- 42 A flichters B flichans C nil D flichens
- 43 A,B,C nil
- 44 A flichters B flichans C nil

Item 122 wooden butter container

- 1 A firkin B keg C tub: keg D cog
- 2 A kit B,C,D nil
- 3 A nil B cog C firkin D butt: cog
- 4 A,B,C,D nil
- 5 A nil B tub C,D nil E cog F nil
- 6 A,B,C nil D cog E,F,G nil
- 7 A nil B kirn C nil D kirn E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A tub B nil C keg D nil
- 9 A nil B keg C nil D tub
- 10 A nil B tub C nil D tub E nil F tub
- 11 A nil B firkin C kirn D nil E keg F tub
G firkin
- 12 A cootie B,C,D,E,F,G,H nil
- 13 A tub B,C,D nil
- 14 A butter-worker B keg C nil D nap E nap
F,G nil H firkin
- 15 A tub B tub C firkin D tub
- 16 A nil B tub C nil D stoup E nil
- 17 A keg B tub C,D,E,F nil
- 18 A tub B tub C,D nil
- 19 A tub B,C nil D keg: tub E tub F nap G tub
- 20 A,B,C,D,E,F nil G nap
- 21 A,B,C nil D nap
- 22 A nap: kebbuek B nappy C,D,E nil

- 23 A nap B nil C tub D bine: nap: tub
- 24 A nap B nap C nap D nap
- 25 A nil B nap C,D,E nil
- 26 A nap B tub: nap C nap D nap E nap
- 27 A keg B nil C nil
- 28 A,B nil
- 29 A nap B nap C nil
- 30 A nil B cog C tub D,E nil
- 31 A,B,C box D cob E,F,G,H nil
- 32 A coggie B worker C tub
- 33 A tub: nap B,C nil D nap E,F nil G tub: nap
H,I nil
- 34 A,B nil C worker D,E,F,G nil H nil I,J nil
K tub L tub M nil
- 35 A tub B tub C tub D tub
- 36 A tub B tub C,D,E nil
- 37 A tub B nap C,D,E nil F worker G,H nil
I firkin
- 38 A nap B nap C platter D worker
- 39 A,B nil C bowie
- 40 A,B,C,D nil
- 41 A vat B tub C vat: keg D bowie
- 42 all nil
- 43 A nap B,C nil
- 44 A,B nil C firkin

Item 141 entangled

- 1 A nil B nil C fankled D fankled
- 2 A fangled B nil C fangled D fankled
- 3 A nil B tangled-up C in a fankle D fankled E nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D fankled
- 5 A nil B tousled C fangled D fankled E,F nil
- 6 A tangled: shibbled B fankled C fangled D fankled
E fankled F tousled: warped: fankled G fankled
- 7 A nil B twined: fankled: in a fankle C ravelled
D twined E fankled F,G,H nil
- 8 A fankled B fankled: tackled up C fankled D nil
- 9 A nil B fankled C,D nil
- 10 A twirpled B toched up C,D nil E fankled
F fankled: tangled up
- 11 A fankled B fankled: burbled C tangled up E fankled:
snarled F fankled G nil
- 12 A fankled B machled C,D nil E tangled: toched
F fangled G fankled H twisted up
- 13 A ravelled B twined C tauchled D,E nil
- 14 A nil B fankled C nil D fankled E burpled
F warped G nil
- 15 A burbled: fankled B burbled: fankled: fangled
C fankled D fankled: fangled
- 16 A taigled B fangled C fanklet: fangled D fankled:
fang'lt E nil

- 17 A ravelled B nil C traucled D nil E fankled
F fankled
- 18 A tangled: fankl't B fankled: taigl't C taigled:
burbled: tartled: fankled
- 19 A ravelled B fankled: fangled C fankled: in a fankle
D warpled: burbled: in a burble E taigl't F fankl't
G fickled
- 20 A warpled; burbl't B ravelled C burbled D burbled:
in a burble E twisted F tangle't: burble't G twisted
- 21 A fankled B burbled C burbled D nil
- 22 A warpled: in a kink B burbled C burbled: hankit
D fankled
- 23 A nil B fankled C in a burble D mixer-maxter
- 24 A fankl't: burbled B burbled C twined: burbled
D fankled
- 25 A burbled B thrumped C burbled: fankl't
D burbled E fankled
- 26 A burbled B burbled C in a fankle: burbled
D burbled E tangl't up
- 27 A burbled B burbled C nil
- 28 A fankl't: burbled B fankled: warpl't; taigl't
- 29 A taigled up B fankled: burbled C hankit: fankled
- 30 A nil B tangl't C nil D burbled E nil
- 31 A,B nil C fankled D,E nil F fankled G burbled
H fankled: in a burble
- 32 A fankled B burbled C burpled D burbled

- 33 A fankl't B nil C nil D burbled E fangled
 F burbled G burbled H burbled I fankled
- 34 A nil B burbled C burbled D burbled E burbled
 F fangl't: in a fangle G nil H burbled I nil
 J fangled K nil L burbled M nil
- 35 A fankled B fankled C hankit: fanld't D wrapl't:
 in a burble: warpled
- 36 A nil B hankit C in a fankle D in a burble
 E burbled
- 37 A nil B burbled C burbl't D burbled E nil
 F burbled G,H,I nil
- 38 A in a burble B fanked: thrumpled C burbled: fangled
 D fankled
- 39 A hunkl't: burbl't B nil C burble: in a fankle
- 40 A in a thrump: in a burble B burbl't C fankl't:
 burbled D burbled: in a fankle
- 41 A burbl't B taigled C burbled: fankled: ravelled
- 42 A fankled B fankled: in a fankle: ravelled C burbled:
 fankled D burbled: fankled
- 43 A caught B burbled C fankled
- 44 A nil B burbled C burbled

Item 147 cut of turf

- 1 A scraw B scraw C sod D nil
- 2 A peat B sod C nil D sod: pate
- 3 A sod: scraw B sod C sod: scraw D sod
- 4 A,B,C nil D sod: scraw
- 5 A sod B scraw C nil D scraw: sod E sod
- 6 A sod B truff C sod D sod E sod: scraw
F divot G scraw
- 7 A sod: scraw B sod C nil D sod E,F nil G sod
H nil
- 8 A scraw B scraw: sod C sod D scraw
- 9 A nil B sod C nil D scraw
- 10 A scraw B scraw C sod D scraw: divot E flay
F sod: scraw
- 11 A skra' B nil C sod D nil E scemmlle F sod
G nil
- 12 A sod B sod C sod D sod E scra' F clod
G nil H sod
- 13 A sod B sod C scraw D nil E divot
- 14 A sod B sod C sod D pate E peat: skimmle
F scraw G peat
- 15 A sod B sod C sod D sod
- 16 A scra' B nil C divot: sod D sod E sod
- 17 A sod B sod C sod D sod E nil F peat
- 18 A truff B sod C sod: skimmle

- 19 A spade-in: clod B scraw: sod C truff D clod
 E,F nil G sod
- 20 A sod B sod C sod D divot E scraw: sod
 F sod G sod
- 21 A nil B flae C sod D sod
- 22 A peat B nil C sod D divit E nil
- 23 A sod B sod: divot C divot: sod D sod
- 24 A sod B divet C divot D sod
- 25 A sod B sod C sod D sod
- 26 A sod B sod C sod D sod
- 27 A sod B sod C sod
- 28 A sod B sod
- 29 A sod B sod C sod
- 30 A sod B sod C divot: sod D sod E shimming: sod
- 31 A,B nil C sod D,E nil F sod G sod H nil
- 32 A sod: divot B sod C nil D sod
- 33 A sod B nil C sod D sod E nil F peat G sod
 H divot I sod
- 34 A nil B sod C sod D sod E sod F sod G sod
 H nil I sod J sod K sod L sod M nil
- 35 A sod B sod C nil D sod
- 36 A nil B sod C sod D nil E peat
- 37 A sod B divot C peat D sod E sod F sod
 G clod H nil I divot
- 38 A divot B sod C sod D sod

- 39 A sod B sod C sod: divot
- 40 A sod B sod C sod D sod: divot
- 41 A nil B divot: sod C sod
- 42 A sod B sod C sod D nil
- 43 A nil B sod: clod C sod: divot: clod
- 44 A nil B sod C sod

Item 152 trimming of oat-stacks

- 1 A scutch B acings C scutch D nil
- 2 A scutch B scutch C nil D nil
- 3 A scutchin B scutchin C scutchin D shavin: scutchin
- 4 A nil B scutch: cut the aises C nil D scutchin
- 5 A stutchin: easin B scutch C nil D cut the easins
E scutch F nil
- 6 A scutchin B nil C scutchin D drenin E nil
F tiltin G thackin
- 7 A skutch B thackin C nil D nil E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A scutch B scutch C scutch D scutch
- 9 A,B,C nil D scutch
- 10 A trimmin B scutchin C scutchin D dressin
E dressin: scutchin F scutchin
- 11 A scutchin B nil C swadge D nil E scutchin
F scutchin
- 12 A scutchin B scutch C scutchin D scutch E,F,G nil
H switchin
- 13 A nil B switchin C,D,E nil
- 14 A scutchin B snoddin C snod: scutch D nil
E scutch F,G nil
- 15 A scutch B scutch C scutch D trimmin aisins
- 16 A scutchin B nil C trim D scutchin E scutchin
- 17 A scutchin B thake C scutchin D scutchin E,F nil
- 18 A keepin B nil C scutchin

- 19 A scutchin B scutch C trimmin D theekin: scutchin
 E,F nil G theakin
- 20 A nil B scutch C nil D scutchin E scutchin
 F cleepin G scutchin: clattin
- 21 A skirtin B nil C theekin D snoddin
- 22 A,B nil C theekin: scutchin D theekin E nil
- 23 A scutchin B snoddin C dressin: trimmin D pu'in
- 24 A nil B scutchin C,D nil
- 25 A scutch B scutchin C,D,E nil
- 26 A nil B scutch C clipe: shapin D scutchin
 E scutchin
- 27 A theek B dressin C scutchin
- 28 A scutchin B clippin
- 29 A scutch B theekin C nil
- 30 A scutchin B scutchin C scutchin D scutchin E nil
- 31 A,B nil C scutchin D,E nil F scutchin G thack
 H nil
- 32 A scutch B scutchin C nil D scutch
- 33 A scutch B rakin C nil D scutchin E nil
 F snod G scutchin H nil I theekin
- 34 A,B,C nil D scutchin E scutchin F scutchin G nil
 H breest, I scutch J,K,L,M nil
- 35 A scutchin B,C,D nil
- 36 A scutch B scutch C,D nil E scutch
- 37 A nil B scutchin C scutchin D theek G theekin:
 scutch F scutch G,H nil I scutchin

- 38 A scutchin B scutchin C scutch D cuttin easins
- 39 A shavin the stack: cuttin the easins B dressin
 C scutch D nil
- 40 A scutch: theek B theekin: keepin C nil D scutch
- 41 A nil B clip the theek C scutch
- 42 A scutchin B,C nil D scutch
- 43 A,B,C nil
- 44 A,B,C nil

Item 153 dressing-down of hay stacks

- 1 A nil B chappin C slipin D nil
- 2 A nil B slakin C slakin D slakin
- 3 A rakin doon: scutchin B rakin doon C scutchin
 D combin: slakin
- 4 A,B,C nil D straightin
- 5 A,B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A straikin B,C nil D dressin E,F nil G kaimin
- 7 A nil B scutchin C nil D combin E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A nil B rakin C keepin D trimmin
- 9 A,B,C nil D straikin
- 10 A rakin B keepin C raikin D keepin E rakin
 F combin: rakin
- 11 A scutchin: rakin B nil C rakin D nil E,F,G nil
- 12 A slipin B rakin C sleekin: rakin D slakin
 E slakin F,G nil H switchin
- 13 A nil B clautin C,D,E nil
- 14 A nil B straikin C pluckin D nil E straikin
 F nil G scutchin
- 15 A pluckin B rakin C rakin D scutchin
- 16 A rakin B,C nil D reddin E pu'in
- 17 A rakin B scutchin C nil D straikin E slakin
 F skutchin
- 18 A keepin B keepin C rakin
- 19 A rakin B combin C trimmin D trimmin E,F,G nil

- 20 A nil B coomin doon C nil D riddin E clattin
 F camin G nil
- 21 A nil B snoddin C clypin D rakin
- 22 A scartin B nil C rakin D,E nil
- 23 A scutchin: straikin B keppin C rakin D rakin
- 24 A keepin B combin: keepin C rakin D nil
- 25 A rakin: chappin B rakin C nil D snoddin E nil
- 26 A nil B slakin C nil D rakin: chappin E rakin
- 27 A clappin B rakin C combin
- 28 A rakin B combin
- 29 A slipin B,C nil
- 30 A keepin B keepin C nil D rakin E nil
- 31 A slakin B nil C rakin D,E,F,G,H nil
- 32 A clypin B,C,D nil
- 33 A,B,C,D,E,F nil G combin H nil I rakin
- 34 A,B nil C rakin D nil E trimmin: rakin F pluckin
 G nil H rakin I,J nil K rakin L nil M raikin
- 35 A clypin B scutchin C,D nil
- 36 A snoddin B guidin C,D nil E snoddin: keepin
- 37 A nil B rakin C scutchin D trimmin E rakin
 F rakin G theekin H trimmin I rakin
- 38 A trimmin B theekin C rakin D rakin
- 39 A pullin B rakin C rakin
- 40 A rakin B dressin C nil D trimmin: rakin
- 41 A nil B kaimin C trimmin

- 42 A,B,C nil D combin
43 A nil B rakin C nil
44 A,B nil C rakin: switchin: keepin

Item 160 clot of wool or manure on animal

- 1 A tartle B nil C tartle D nil
- 2 A thacle: tartle B tartle C tartle D nil
- 3 A tattle B,C nil D tartle
- 4 A,B,C,D hiplock
- 5 A nil B tartle C,D nil E tartle F nil
- 6 A tattle B nil C tartle D tartle: hiplock
E tattle F nil G taut H nil
- 7 A tartle B wool-ball C tattle D tattle
- 8 A turtle B tartle C tartle D tartle: hiplock
- 9 A,B,C nil D tartle
- 10 A tartle: hiplock B tartle C hiplock D hiplock:
tattle E tartle F hiplock: tattle
- 11 A tattle: tartle B tattle: claut: hiplock C tartle
D nil E tattle F tattle G nil
- 12 A hiplock B tattle C hiplock D tattle E tattle
F tattle G,H nil
- 13 A tattle B nil C hiplock D,E nil
- 14 A hiplock: tartle B hiplock C daggins D tatts
E hiplock F nil G hiplock
- 15 A tattle B tattle: tartle C hiplock D tattle
- 16 A tartle B nil C tattle D clat E hiplock
- 17 A,B nil C hiplock D hiplock: clart E,F nil
- 18 A tattle B hiplock C tatlock: hiplock
- 19 A tartle B clat: hiplock C tattle D hiplock E,F,G nil

- 20 A nil B clat C tattle D hiplock E tattle
 F tattle G tattle
- 21 A hiplock B nil C tattle D nil
- 22 A clart B hiplock C hiplock D hiplock E nil
- 23 A clart B clat: dad o' dung C hiplock D hiplock
- 24 A clart: pachle B tattle C pook: clart D nil
- 25 A tats: hiplock B batt C hiplock D hiplock
- 26 A clart B pachle: clat C tachle D hiplock: tattle
 E tachle
- 27 A hiplock B hiplock: baton C nil D hiplock
- 28 A pachle: hiplock B hiplock
- 29 A tartle B nil C hiplock
- 30 A clart: trachle B tattle C bat D tag: taglock
 E hiplock: tartle
- 31 A,B nil C nil D,E nil F tattle G,H nil
- 32 A tartle: pachle B clat: tattle C nil D hiplock
- 33 A clart B nil C hiplock D hiplock E nil
 F clart G turdle: hiplock H hiplock I hiplock
- 34 A nil B hiplock C clart D hiplock E hiplock:
 pachle F hiplock G nil H clart: hiplock
 I hiplock J,K nil L hiplock M nil
- 35 A hiplock: tattle B hiplock C tattle: pachle:
 hiplock D hiplock
- 36 A tat B hiplock: clat C,D nil E hiplock: clart

- 37 A hiplock: clart B hiplock C hiplock D hiplock
 E hiplock F hiplock G hiplock H nil I tatttle
- 38 A nil B hiplock C dag D hiplock
- 39 A hiplock B,C nil
- 40 A hiplock B hiplock: clat C nil D clit
- 41 A nil B watttle: tarttle C tatttle: hiplock
- 42 A tawt B nil C hiplock D hiplock
- 43 A nil B tatttle C nil
- 44 A,B nil C tatttle

Item 169 to dress-a-millstone

This item was included to ascertain memory of 'pick'.

It was found 11 times:

8A, 9B, 15A, 23A, 28A, 31D, 33F, 36B,C 39C, 40D

Item 184 easily crumbled, stony soil

- 1 A channery B till C bruckle D frush
- 2 A channery: nappy: moolie B channery C channery
D channery: sharp
- 3 A gravelly: channery B channery C nil D sharp:
channery
- 4 A loamy: nil B loamy C,D nil
- 5 A milly B loamy C channery D channery E,F nil
- 6 A moolie B,C nil D sharp E,F,G nil
- 7 A,B,C moolie D ban E,F,G,H nil
- 8 A channery B nil C channery D gravelly
- 9 A,B,C,D nil
- 10 A channery B channery C bruckle: nappy D channery:
sharp E gravelly F nappy: milly
- 11 A channery: rig: sharp B channery C channery D nil
E sharp F chinnery G nil
- 12 A sharp B tilly: sharp C sharp: channery D nil
E channery F,G,H nil
- 13 A,B,C,D nil
- 14 A gravelly B mools: bruckle: mills C sharp: bruckle
D frush: milly E frush: marled
- 15 A purley B channery C bruckle: channery D gravelly
- 16 A bruckle B,C,D,E nil
- 17 A milly B,C,D nil E channery F nil
- 18 A channery B frush C channery: sharp
- 19 A sharp: staney B bruckle C sharp D,E,F,G,H nil

- 20 A frush B mools C nil D mooly E channery
 F nil G loamy
- 21 A nil B frush C nil D frush
- 22 A jingly B,C nil D frush
- 23 A loamy B,C nil D channery
- 24 A nil B frush: channery C jingly D nil
- 25 A sharp B,C nil D jingly
- 26 A nil B shairp C frush D shingly: channery
 E channery
- 27 A nil B shairp C shairp
- 28 A channery B frush: channery
- 29 A shairp: frush B shairp C nil
- 30 A shairp: channery B sharp: channery: gravelly C loamy
 D sharp: bruckle: gravelly: channery E channery
- 31 A,B nil C jingly D,E nil F frush G,H nil
- 32 A frush B frush C,D nil
- 33 A shairp B chingley C nil D sharp E nil
 F frush G channery H jingly I mealy
- 34 A,B,C,D nil E frush: channery F frush G chinnery
 H sharp I,J nil K shunnery L till M tilt
- 35 A sharp B,C,D nil
- 36 A jingly: frush B sharp C channery D bruckle
 E channery
- 37 A nil B frush C brittle D frush E frush F nil
 G till H nil I bruckle

- 38 A bruckly B mools: till C sharp D jingly: frush:
bruckle
- 39 A staney B nil C frush
- 40 A frush: shinnery B till C frush D frush: channery
- 41 A nil B mools C gravelly
- 42 A nil B gravelly C nil D gravelly
- 43 A sharp: hard B gravelly C nil
- 44 A,B nil C nil

Item 192 reef

responses were obtained only as follows:

scaur: 1A, 2B, 3A,B, 4D, 5A,B,D, 6E,G 7B,D,E, 11B

14A,B,C,E, 15C,D, 18C, 19C

stack: 6F

point: 9C

skerry: 15D, 22D

rack: 35A

Item 208 wren

- 1 A chitty B chitty C chitty D nil
- 2 A chitty B chitty C nil D chitty wran
- 3 A,B nil C jenny D nil
- 4 A,B,C nil D chitty wren
- 5 A chitty-wran B,C,D,E,F nil
- 6 A jenny-wran B nil C jenny-wran D chitty-wran
E nil F chitty G chitty-wran
- 7 A chitty B chitty-wran C nil D jenny E jenny-
wran F,G,H nil
- 8 A jenny B nil C jenny-wran D nil
- 9 A,B,C nil D jenny-wran
- 10 A chitty-wran B jenny-wran C chitty-wran D,G nil
F jenny-wran
- 11 A chitty-wran: wran B,C,D nil E jenny-wran F,G nil
- 12 A,B nil C chitty wran D,E nil F jenny-wran G nil
- 13 A wran B jenny-wran C jenny-wran D,E nil
- 14 A chitty B jenny-wran C nil D cutty E cutty-wran:
jenny-wran F nil G chitty
- 15 A jenny-wran: chitty-wran B jenny-wran: chitty-wran
C jenny-wran D jenny-wran
- 16 A jenny-wran B nil C jenny-wran D titty-wran:
cutty-wran E chunky-wran
- 17 A chitty-wran B,C,D nil E rannie F kittie-wran
- 18 A nil B jenny-wran C chitty-wran: jenny-wran

- 19 A cutty-wran B nil C jenny-wran D cutty: jenny wran
 E cutty-wran F jenny wran G nil
- 20 A cutty B cutty C cutty-wran D cutty E cutty
 F cutty wran G cutty-wran
- 21 A cuttie B,C nil D cutty
- 22 A cutty B,C nil D jenny-wran E jenny-wren
- 23 A jenny-wran B cutty wren C nil D cutty wran
 E cutty
- 24 A cutty-wran B cutty C nil D cutty wran
- 25 A cutty-wren B,C nil D cutty wran
- 26 A cutty-wren B cutty-wran C cutty D cutty-wran:
 jenny-wran E nil
- 27 A cutty B jenny wran C cutty-wran
- 28 A cutty-wran B cutty
- 29 A cutty B cutty C nil
- 30 A cutty B cutty C cutty D cutty wran E wran:
 jenny-wren
- 31 A,B nil C cutty D,E nil F cutty G,H nil
- 32 A cutty-wren B cutty C cutty-wran D cutty
- 33 A cutty-wran B nil C cuttie D nil E cutty
 F cutty G cutty H nil I cutty
- 34 A nil B cutty wren C,D nil E cutty F cutty:
 jenny-wran G jenny wran H cutty I nil J cutty wren:
 wee cutty K cutty L cutty M nil

- 35 A cutty B cutty C nil D cutty
- 36 A cutty B nil C cutty D cutty wren E cutty wran
- 37 A cutty-wran B cutty-wran C nil D jenny-wran
 E nil F nil G cutty H nil I nil
- 38 A cutty B cutty C cutty-wran D cutty
- 39 A cutty wran B nil C cutty
- 40 A cutty wran B cutty wran C cutty wran D cutty
- 41 A nil B cutty wran C cutty wran
- 42 A jenny wran: cutty B cutty wran C jenny wran
 D cutty wran
- 43 A nil B jenny wran C nil
- 44 A nil B cutty C nil

Item 215 tern

responses were obtained only as follows:

pirrmaw 1C 4B 7E 8A 9C 11F 13B 15A,B 18C 30A

pirr-gull 30B,E

sea-swallow 1A 4D 6E 7E 11A 14A,D,E 15D 18C

19C 20A,D 21B 31F 37D,H 42B 43D

swallow-tail 1B

gull 3A 19A 27A 28A 30B,D 34G 34M 35A 36D 37A,C

black gull 18C

black-headed gull 4C 7B 8D 12H 15C 20D,F 26D

30B,D 33F 34J

herring gull 9C 15C 30D

terr 5D

pictern 17F

ANALYSIS

(Wgt = Wigtownshire; Kcb = the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright)

When the Survey was completed, the raw information was contained in the Questionnaire forms. As there were 240 questions and 221 forms, I knew that I had many responses - some distinct or individualized and some more common and generalized. How these responses were localized or spread or contrasted I had only impressions.

All the material was transferred from the forms to a filing system, each item being identified by a card and all the responses for the item being put behind the card by parish. The material was then transferred from the filing system to Item-sheets so that it would be possible to see all the responses, given for one item, together. These sheets were referred to frequently during the analysis.

I had hoped to deal with each item consecutively, 1-240, but both curiosity as to what was contained in later items and the increasing awareness that the quantity of material was very considerable suggested that a selection process should be begun. After 50 consecutive items had been completed, I began selecting what seemed to be 'interesting'¹ items and another 42 were done in this way. I now had a representative

¹What I thought was 'more-interesting' and 'less-interesting' was largely on an impression-basis gained during the Survey and while transferring the material from the Questionnaire forms to the filing system and the Item-sheets.

selection of the total collection from which I proceeded by a further selection, on the basis of apparent differentiation, to choose 55 items for report in this thesis. The 55 items should be thought of as 'interesting' and 'differentiated'. The analysis which follows is of Items 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 20, 21, 22, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 47, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 64, 66, 71, 74, 77, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87, 88, 92, 101, 102, 122, 141, 147, 152, 153, 160, 169, 184, 192, 208, 215.

Before proceeding to a description of the analysis four explanations are necessary viz. a) some selection has been made from the total responses within the items and certain categories omitted, i. standard English with a specific Scottish pronunciation², ii. words widely used in Scotland which were given undifferentiatedly, iii. words given once only, iv. slang expressions; b) the number of times a response was given in Wgt and Kcb (the two major divisions of the region) has been added left and right of an oblique; c) as there is no Irish corpus of research, reference is made to earlier printed lists (cf. bibliography) alongside the numerical comparisons; d) frequently parallel references were found in the Scottish National Dictionary but in 13 instances words located in one or more Irish Word List could not be matched in S.N.D.; these are shown with a capital 'I', preceding the responses. The total number of responses chosen for analysis is 192.

²Speitel, H.H., "Dialect", Problems of Language & Learning, Ed. Alan Davies, 1975, p. 35.

1st Comparison

The Survey began at the western extremity of the region - the Mull of Galloway - and proceeded eastwards to Carsethorn on the Nith. My increasing interest in the Irish connection had influenced the development of the Questionnaire, to the extent that, in its final form, it had approximately 50 per cent of its items designed to catch possible Irish-type words. The choice of beginning the Survey at the west and proceeding eastwards, rather than reversely, was not difficult to make; I chose to follow the route the Irish took. (See p. 67)

The 192 responses chosen for analysis were recorded³ on maps (pp. 239/320). I observed that a) responses started at the western edge and were given up to certain boundaries or b) were begun at some point along the way and continued to certain boundaries or c) were given from their starting point to the eastern edge. A large proportion of the responses were first encountered in Wigtownshire.

The boundaries were the rivers Bladenoch, Cree and Urr and two lines, less easily definable geographically, i. from Lake of Cree, a few miles north of Minnigaff, through Gatehouse to the western side of the estuary of the Dee, opposite the town of Kirkcudbright, ii. running north and south through the parishes bordering the Nith parishes. The Nith formed another boundary but this may be because the Survey stopped there.

³ responses have been recorded in the parish where they were obtained and as near the actual location in the parish as size of map and proximity of other responses have made possible

The response words in relation to the boundaries are:

- i) 11 words were given west of Bladenoch viz. black/black-east, grey/grey-east/grey-easterly, scut, brock, snashie, brulie, polterin, powterin (with 2 meanings), proitle/prottle, rumdinger
- ii) 7 words were given west of Cree viz. drumlie, musky, blatterin, dindle, gaffer, splinter-new/splinterin-new/splinnerin-new, styoochin/styooked
- iii) 21 words were given west of a line drawn from Lake of Cree to the Dee estuary and not beyond:

piskey, dog, stum, huggery, flug, feug, cloodie, essert, painful, oster-cog, wheegle/whiggle, jag, prockle, sail, scarr (with 2 meanings), pleasement, flowins, scraw, pirrmaw/pirrgull, chitty
- iv) 31 words were given west of the Urr and not beyond:

blear, blae, birsey/birselen, drochy, plumpin, tudderie/dudderie, plaister, warm, imperent, scart, carnapshus, doch, prinklin, kiyachin/cuttin kiawies, skivin, quit/quat, wheeble, prog/proggle, proddle, sough, kyo, siege, took, antic, gruesom, newance, spit-image, cog, hankit, warpled, slake
- v) 47 words were given west of a line running north/south through the parishes contiguous with the Nith parishes:

coorse, glowerin, over-castin, gall/weather-gall/water-gall, water-dog, brosey, blate, quate, slaister, slitter, hudderie/hudderie-dudderie, hanfu', terge, hinnerance, faggot, drag,

haudback, bien, bettermos, forritsom, taking the sturdies,
 cat-wuttit/cat-wurrit, reel-fittet, dofe, pringlin, swampit,
 nyatterin/yitterin/nyitterin, gablin, keehowin/cuttin keos,
 gakin aroon, skiddlin, plowterin/ploiterin, poyterin/pooterin,
 deval/devar/devalve, jab, bar, guid yin, kyo, baiverage, unco,
 fangled, clarts, pick, till, bruckle, frush, channery

vi) 75 words were given up to the Nith

step-mother's-breath, foonerlin, wutherin, bask, blashy, smirr,
 gaw/weather-gaw/water-gaw, darkenin, slob, mim-mooth, stooky,
 clart, through-ither, corry-varieties, doneup to the 99s, done
 up to the 9s, weel-buskit, dressed up like a dish o' fish,
 dressed up like a flea-hyeuk/buskit-up/rigged-oot/got-up,
 nebbby/nebbit/nebbin, speirin, dour, ersit, stumpy, dumpy-fitted,
 dinglin, dirlin, clackin, gabbin, yatterin, back-snash,
 cyanglin, carfuffle, collyshangie, stramash, daffin, plitterin/
 plutterin/plooterin, lowse, prod, steer, ripe, pork, howk, hurl,
 clash, pant, set, tear, worthy, wag, stamsteery, stam-varieties,
 steer-varieties, ramstam, brainge, feart, fearsom, flysom/
 fleysom/fleesom, gliff, splint-new, split-new, drawn-image/
 spitten-image/very-image, spit/leevin-spit/very-spit/deid-spit,
 flichters/flechters/flickters, flichens/flickens/fleckins/
 flechins/flithens/flockens, nap/nappy, firkin, tub, fankled/
 fankle/fanked, burbled, taigled, scutch, tartle, mools/mills/
 mooly/milly/meally, cutty

The following table shows Irish and non-Irish relatedness:

<u>Boundary</u>	<u>Total number of words</u> ³	<u>With Irish ref. only</u>	<u>With Irish & S.N.D. ref.</u>	<u>With S.N.D. ref. only</u>
1. Bladenoch	11	2	6	3
2. Cree	7	-	3	4
3. Lake of Cree to Dee Estuary	21	4	12	5
4. Urr	31	4	17	10
5. West of Nith parishes	47	1	30	16
6. Nith	75	2	33	40
	192	13	101	78

In the chapter "The Irish in 18th & 19th century Galloway" (p.54) I drew attention to the fact that the Irish came looking for work and stopped-off where they found it. I also remarked on the ever increasing numbers of Irish who came, representative of all parts of Ireland, and the fact that new arrivals had to go further and further east to find work. I spoke of the obstacles presented by rivers, hills, moors and rough roads and also of the successive oases that presented themselves, to the weary travellers, offering work. Many workers returned year after year to the same farms and often eventually settled on them as permanent workers, either marrying local girls or bringing wives and children from Ireland.

It is interesting to note that the work areas and the physical obstacles that followed them are much the same as the boundary lines which

³'words' includes cognates or family-words; a few cognates have been allowed to stand alone when only 'they' of their family have appeared further east than other 'relatives'

have now been revealed on the maps by plotting where words stopped. What is also interesting is the high degree of Irish relatedness of these words:

<u>Boundary</u>	<u>Irish-relatedness</u>
1. Bladenoch	8 out of 11
2. Cree	3 out of 7
3. L. of Cree/Dee Estuary	16 out of 21
4. Urr	21 out of 31
5. West of Nith parishes	31 out of 47
6. Nith	35 out of 74

Why these particular words stopped where they did must lie in the speech of the particular immigrants who settled there and, by extension, other words went on because they were carried by immigrants who went further. Where the immigrants came from in Ireland has distinct bearing. In the 1851 Census Tables (pp. 71, 72) we can note that 97% of the Irish-born resident in Wgt were born in Ulster and that 40% of the Irish-born resident in Kcb were born elsewhere in Ireland than in Ulster. These figures are based on 743 for whom birth-place evidence is available and are indicative of the fact that the Irish who came to Galloway in the 19th century were not an indistinguishable mass and certainly brought their particular lexical contributions. (See p. 65)

Comparison of the respective proportions of Irish-related vocabulary in Wgt and Kcb, as wholes, is interesting. My Questionnaire was constructed so that approximately 50 per cent of the items might attract responses with Irish association, while the other 50 per cent had no such bias. In result, it can be said that, while expectations were

frequently fulfilled, it sometimes happened that they were not, whereas sometimes responses with Irish association were received when they were not expected. The references to Irish Word Lists given alongside responses are from both types of items.

When the choice of 55 items was made, on the basis of apparent differentiation, the percentage of Irish-associated items increased to 75 per cent. The higher percentage of this type of item in this latter case brings out, even more clearly, the Irish presence in Galloway.

Comparison is as follows:

Wgt.	total words being analysed	- 192
	less confined to Kcb	- 10
	words with Irish ref.	- 111
	or 61%	

Kcb	total words being analysed	- 192
	less confined to Wgt	- 18
	words with Irish ref.	- 103
	or 59%	

It is apparent, therefore, that though popular Kcb opinion - "when you're over the Cree, you are into the Irish", is supported; there is only a slightly less percentage of words with Irish reference in Kcb itself. The connection between the speech of Ireland and Galloway is evident. The remark by J.A.H. Murray in 1873 that the dialect of Galloway has abundant examples of a Scoto-Irish nomenclature⁴ is still demonstrably true a century later.

⁴Murray, J.A.H., The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, (London: 1873), p. 79.

Lists of Responses and Maps showing where given (these lists and maps refer to the 2 comparisons). The procedure used in the maps is one item to one map, with the Symbols • x Δ designating the first, second and third responses respectively. In a few cases 1) 2 items have been put on one map because of a small number of responses being given a small number of times, 2) one item has been spread over more than one map because of several responses having been given many times, 3) a choice had to be made if the form or spelling in which responses were recorded vary. An * appearing before a response, at the top left-hand corner of a map indicates Irish reference; on the covering page of each group of maps, the Irish references are given in letter form.

Keys to references - a) Irish Word Lists b) other

- a) Ba - Braidwood, J., "Terms for Left-handed in the Ulster Dialects", Ulster Folk Life, vol. 18, 1972, pp. 98-110
- Bb - -----, "Local Bird Names in Ulster-A Glossary", Ulster Folk Life, vol. 11, 1965, pp. 98-135
- B1 - Ballymena Observer, Donegal, 1898 (per EDD)
- FJB - Biggar, F.J., "The Dialect of Ulster", Ulster Journal of Archaeology, vol. 10, 1904
- J - Joyce, P.W., English As We Speak It In Ireland, (Dublin: 1910)
- JCK - Omurethi, "Book Notice on Joyce, P.W.", ibid., Journal of the County of Kildare Arch. Soc., vol. 6, 1909-11, pp. 523-39
- JCH - h-Ealuighthe, D.O., "Irish Words in Cork Speech", Journal of the Cork Hist. & Arch. Soc., 1943-44, pp. 48-49
- H - Hart, H.C., "Notes on Irish Dialect, Chiefly Donegal", Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899, pp. 86-112
- L - Lutton, W., Montiaghisms: Ulster Words & Phrases, Ed., F.J. Biggar, (Armagh: 1923)

- M - Marshall, J.J., "The Dialect of Ulster", Ulster Journal of Arch., vol. x, 1904, xi, 1905, xii, 1906
- P - Patterson, W.H., A Glossary of Words in Use in the Counties of Antrim & Down, (London: 1880)
- S - Staples, J.H., "Notes on Ulster English Dialect", Trans. Phil. Soc., 1895-98, pp. 357-98
- Si - Simmons, D.A., "A List of Peculiar Words & Phrases in Common Use in the County of Armagh, together with expressions at one time current in South Donegal", Educational Gazette, 1890
- T - Traynor, M., The English Dialect of Donegal, (Dublin: 1953)
- b) C - Warrack, Alex., Chambers Scots Dictionary (Chambers, Edin.: 1911)
- E - Wright, J., English Dialect Dictionary (London: 1905)
- G - McTaggart, J., Gallovidian Encyclopaedia (1824)
- SND - Grant/Murison, Scottish National Dictionary

Responses given West of Bladenoch

(1)	black		2/-
	black-east		13/-
	grey-east		1/-
	grey-easterly		1/-
	grey-easterlin		1/-
(21)	* ^l scut	JT	8/-
	* brock	P	2/-
(34)	* snashie	B1	2/-
(54)	* brulie	JPT	3/-
(58)	* polterin	T	2/-
	* powterin	LM	2/-
(71)	* powterin	L	4/-
	proitle		3/-
	prottle		1/-
(87)	* ^l rumdinger	T	7/-

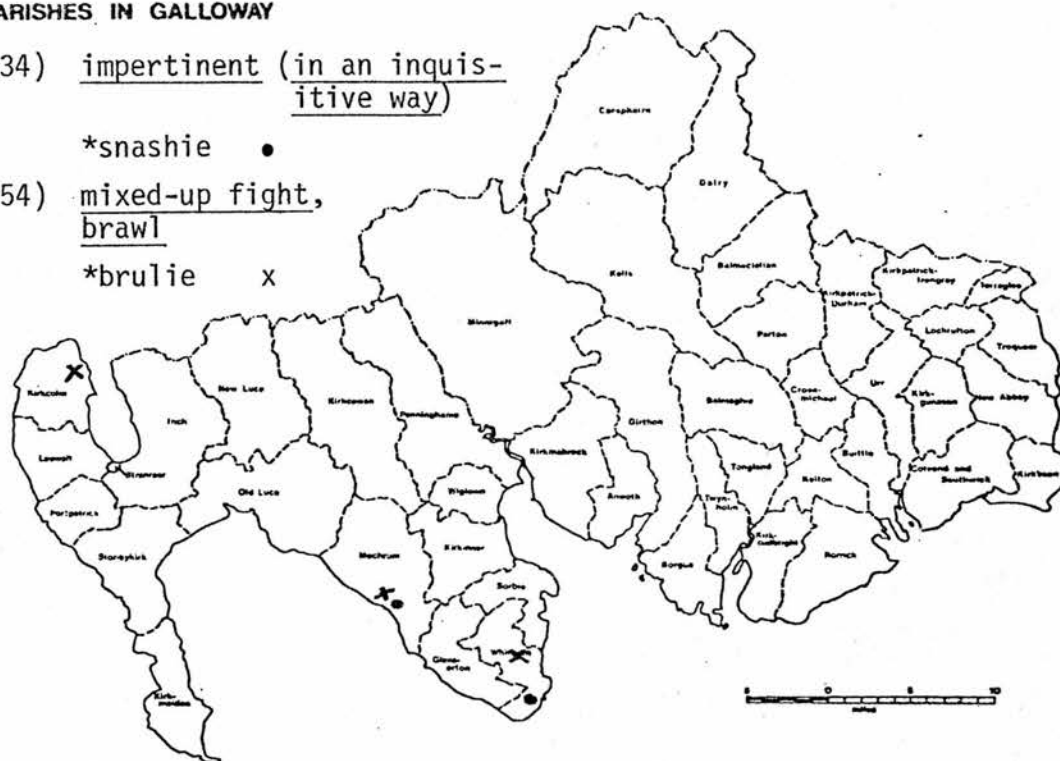
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(34) impertinent (in an inquisitive way)

*snashie •

(54) mixed-up fight, brawl

*brulie x

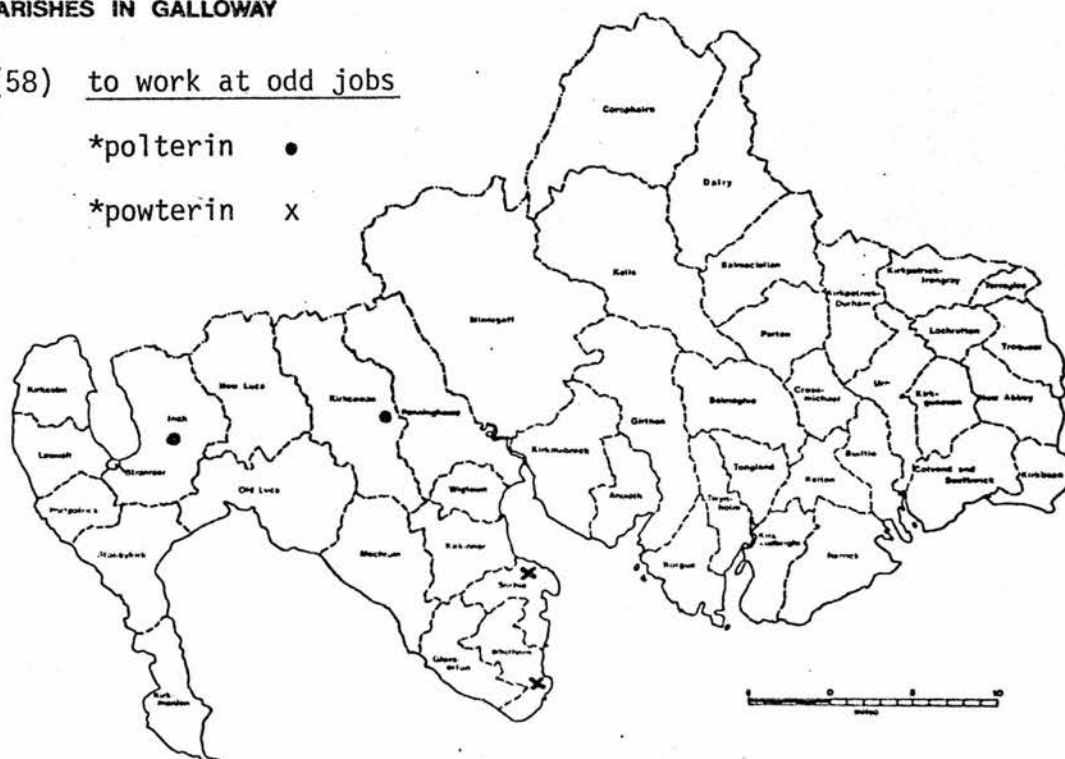


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(58) to work at odd jobs

*polterin •

*powterin x



Responses given West of Cree

(6)	drumlie		3/-
	musky		3/-
(8)	* blatterin	T	9/-
(43)	* dindle	MT	5/-
(51)	* gaffer	T	4/-
(88)	splinter-new		3/-
	splinterin-new		7/-
	splinnerin-new		1/-
(102)	styoochin		2/-
	styooked		1/-

Responses given west of a line drawn from
Lake of Cree to the Dee estuary

(1,2,5)	pisky		6/1
(9)	* dog	PT	28/3
	dog-varieties (incl. weather-dog/dog-end/dog-in-the-sky/watch-dog/whoup)		6/1
(20)	* stum	T	12/2
(21)	huggery		1/1
(26)	* flug	P	27/4
	* feug-fisted	Ba	7/1
	* ^l clootie	PST	2/1
(35)	essert		48/9
(37)	* ^l painful	T	10/1
(57)	* oxter-cog	MPT	18/5
(66)	wheegle		5/1
	whiggle		-/1
(71)	* jag	PT	1/1
	prockle		5/1
(74)	* sail	PT	33/5
(84)	* scarr (incl. alt. endings 'y', 't', 'd', 'in')	T	15/5
(101)	* ^l pleasement	PST	19/1
(102)	* flowins	LPT	26/1
(147)	* scraw	JLMP	23/2
(192)	* scarr	P	20/2
(208)	* ^l chitty	BbMPS	22/1
(215)	* pirrmaw	PT	9/2
	pirrgull		-/2

Responses given west of Urr

(5)	* blear	Si	5/1
	* blae	PT	7/3
	* birsy	P	2/-
	birselen		-/2
(7)	* drochy (incl. drachy/droch/droky/ drookie)	LPT	7/2
(8)	* plumpin	T	13/2
(21)	tudderie		-/2
	dudderie		-/2
(22)	* plaister	T	14/5
(32)	* ^l warm	T	6/2
(34)	* ^l imperent	T	18/2
	* scart	T	11/5
(36)	* carnapshus	LMPST	23/15
(42)	* doch	L	7/4
(43)	prinklin		5/3
(56)	cuttin kiawies		-/1
	kiyachin		-/2
	skivin		1/3
(64)	* quit	JST	5/1
	* quat	M	9/5
(66)	* ^l wheeble	T	3/1
(71)	* prog	LM	3/1
	* proggle	L	7/8
	* proddle	LPT	14/2
(77)	* sough	T	7/5
(78)	kyo		1/3
	siege		13/3
	took		2/3
(79)	* antic	PT	18/7

(84)	* gruesom	FJB, PT	2/1
(88)	* newance	MPT	25/5
(92)	spit-image		1/2
(122)	* cog	MLP	5/2
(141)	hankit		-/4
	warpled		2/5
(153)	* ^l slake	T	8/2

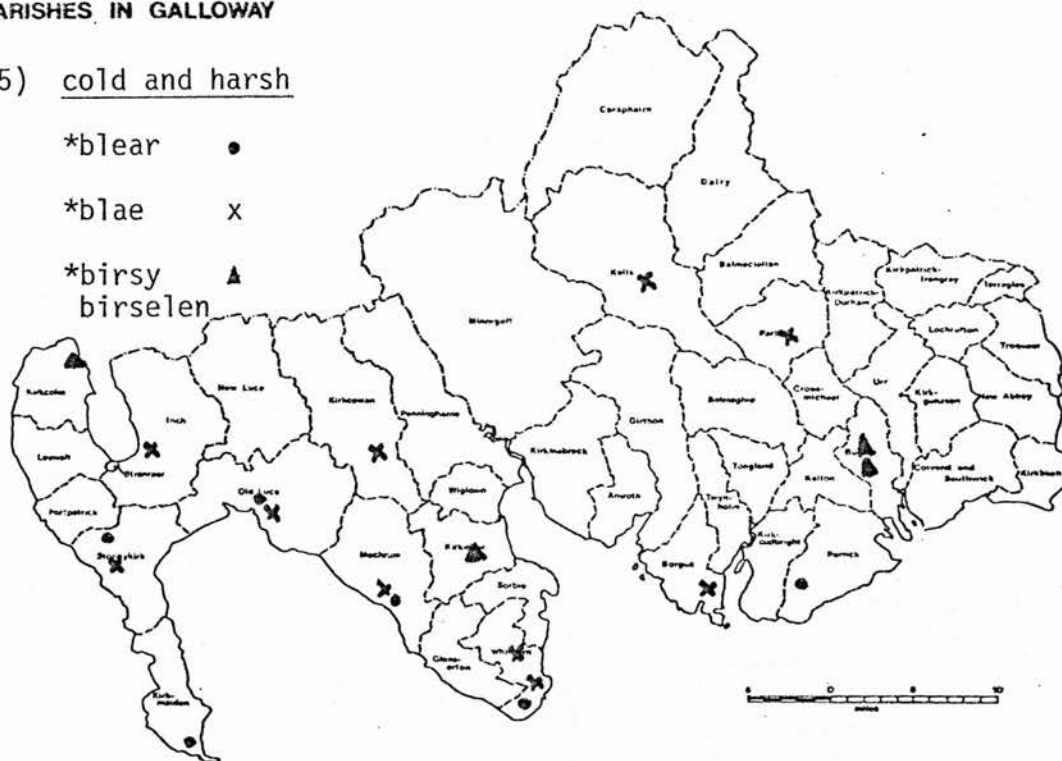
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(5) cold and harsh

*blear •

*blae x

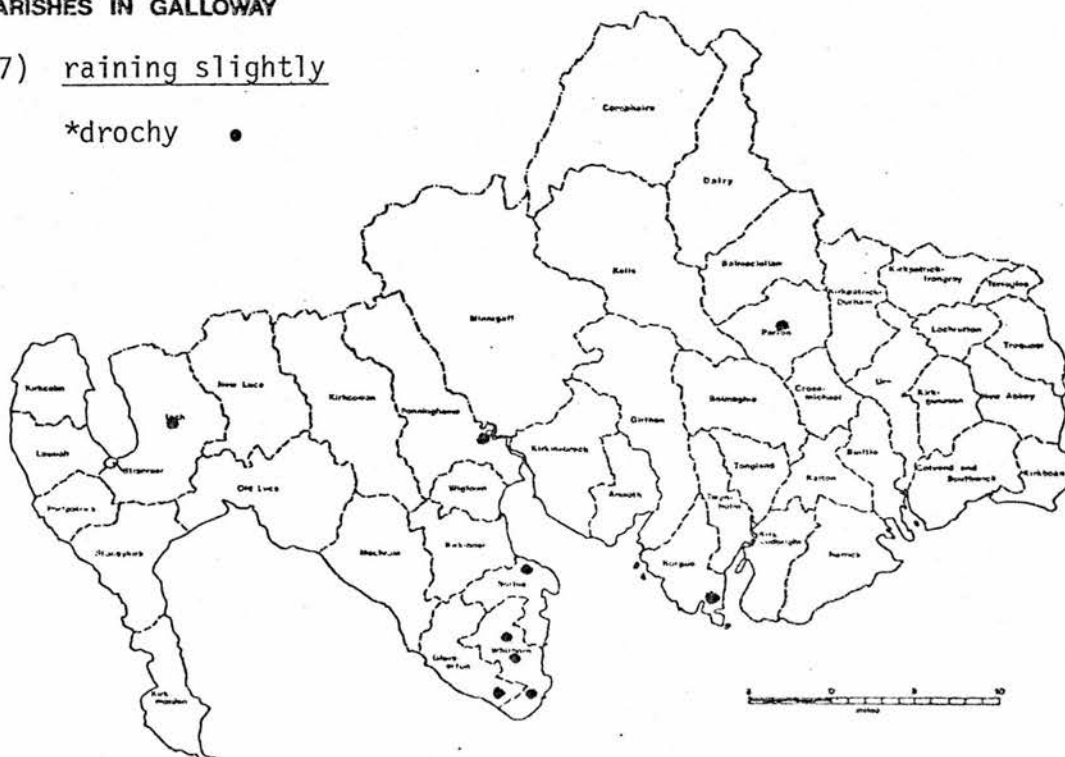
*birsy ▲
birselen



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(7) raining slightly

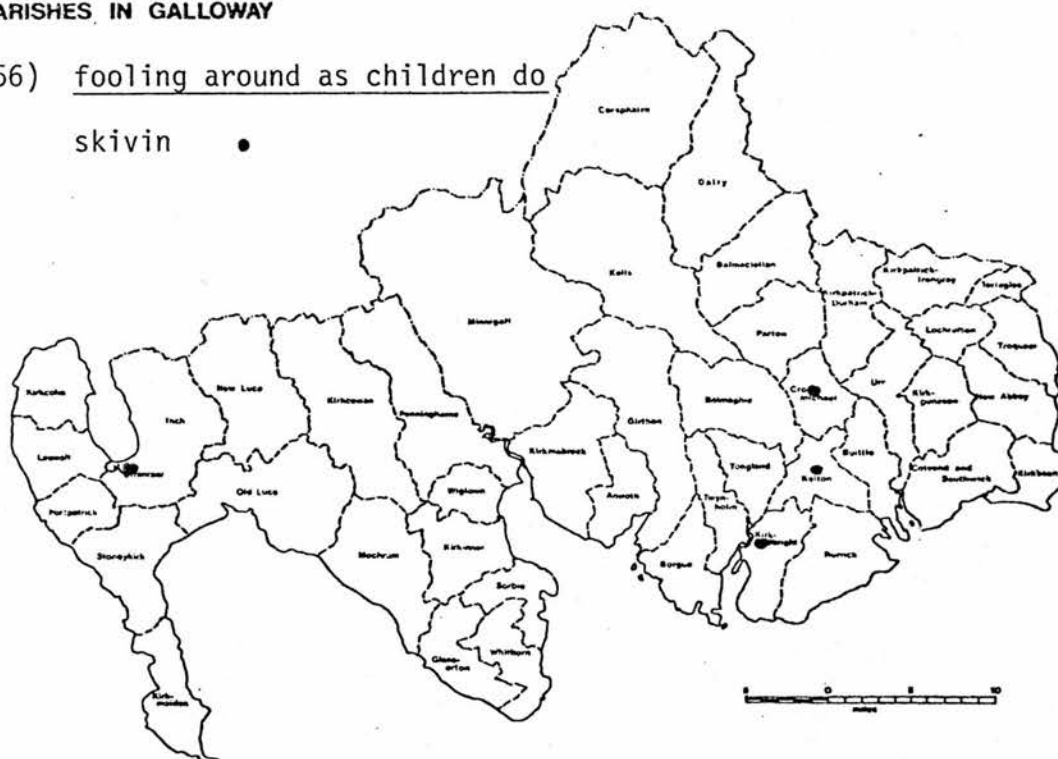
*drochy •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(56) fooling around as children do

skivin •

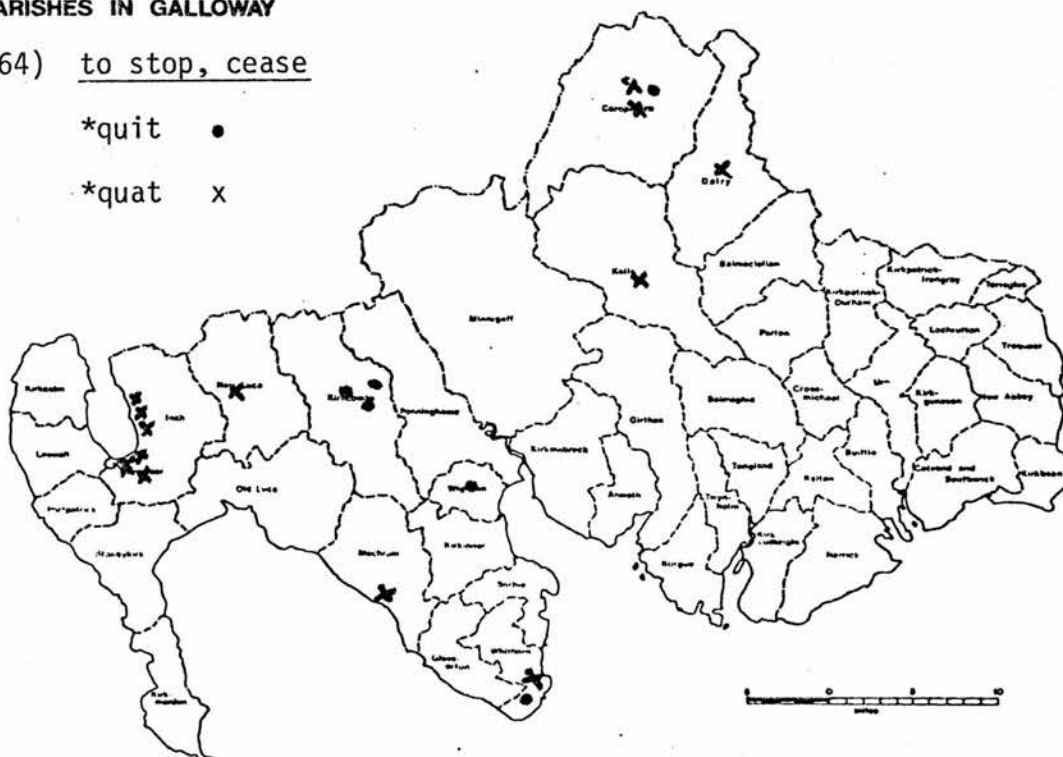


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(64) to stop, cease

*quit •

*quat x



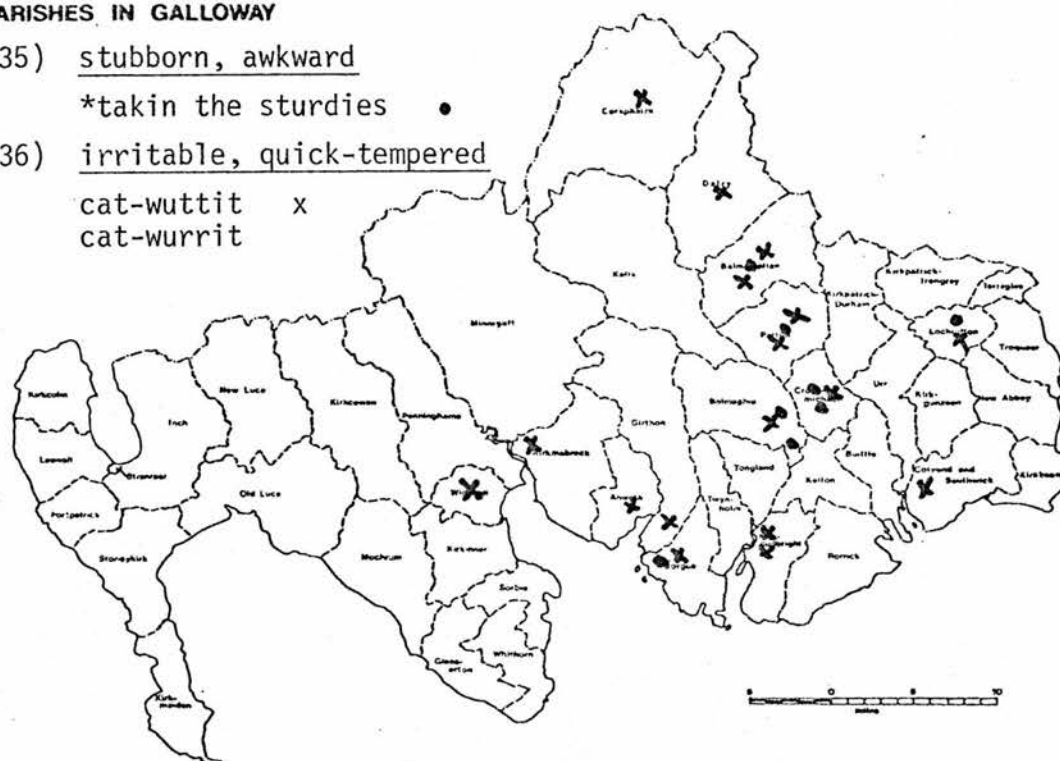
Responses given west of a line drawn through the
parishes contiguous with the Nith parishes

(5)	* coorse	PT	3/8
(6)	* glowerin overcastin	T	9/2 12/18
(9)	* gall weather-gall water-gall	LPT	-/1 -/6 -/3
	* ^l water-dog	T	16/7
(15)	* brosey	T	13/7
(20)	* blate	MPT	1/5
	* quate	PT	7/31
(21)	* slaister	T	-/2
	* slitter	J	1/2
	hudderie		1/12
	hudderie-dudderie		-/2
(22)	* hanfu'	T	3/2
	* terge	MPT	1/1
	hinnerance		4/11
	* faggot	T	5/3
	drag		7/14
	haud-back		4/21
(32)	bien		18/16
	bettermos		-/13
(34)	forritsom		1/15
(35)	* takin the sturdies	T	-/8
(36)	cat-wuttit		1/15
	cat-wurrit		-/1
(40)	* reel-fittet	JCK,PT	37/24
(42)	* dofe	P	29/15
(43)	pringlin		2/3
(47)	* swampit	HT	27/24
(51)	nyatterin		3/7
	yitterin		1/3
	nyitterin		4/1
	gablin		17/7

(56)	* keehowin	MP	46/27
	* cuttin keos	P	1/6
	* gakin aroon	Si	1/6
(58)	* skiddlin	T	18/7
	* plowterin	T	6/9
	ploiterin		4/10
	poyterin		2/3
	pooterin		-/1
(64)	* deval	PT	9/14
	* devar	T	1/-
	* devalve	T	6/14
(71)	* jab	T	6/4
(78)	bar		1/2
	guid yin		2/31
(79)	* kyo	T	16/13
(83)	* baiverage	MPT	4/4
(88)	* unco	FJB,MP	6/3
(141)	* fangled (incl. in a fangle)	PT	10/6
(160)	clarts		3/20
(169)	* pick	T	3/8
(184)	* till	PT	2/4
	* bruckle	MPT	6/5
	* frush	LMPT	3/25
	* channery	LT	24/21

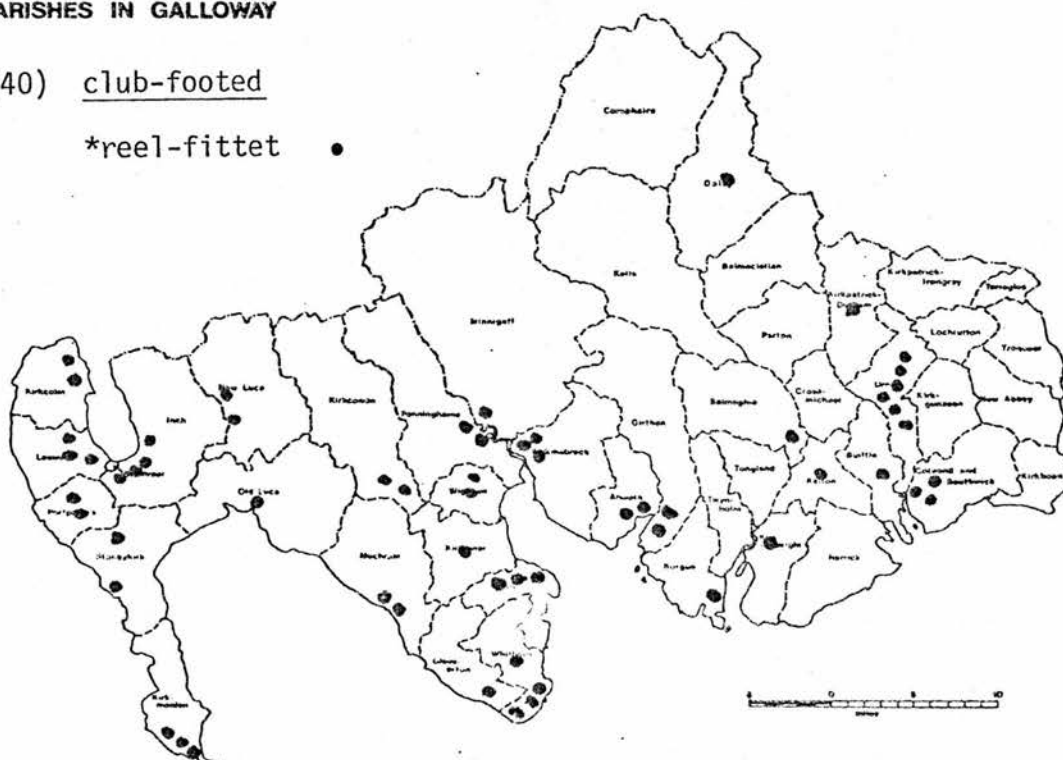
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

- (35) stubborn, awkward
*takin the sturdies •
- (36) irritable, quick-tempered
cat-wuttit x
cat-wurrit



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

- (40) club-footed
*reel-fittet •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

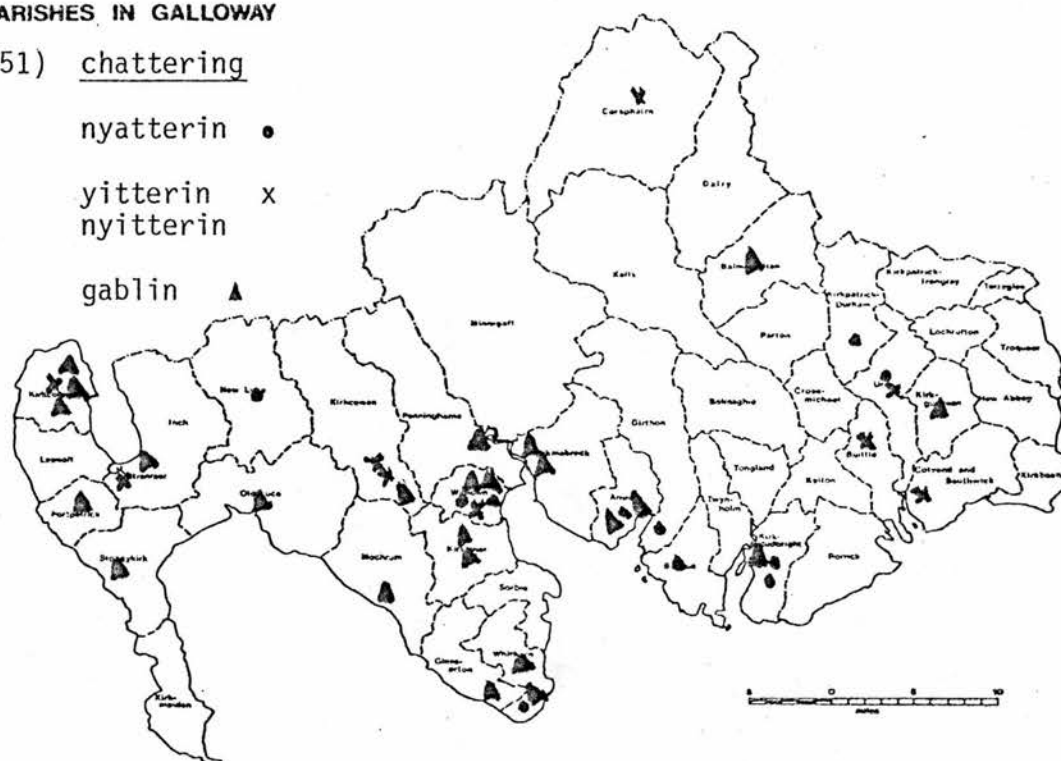
(51) chattering

nyatterin •

yitterin x

nyitterin

gablin ▲



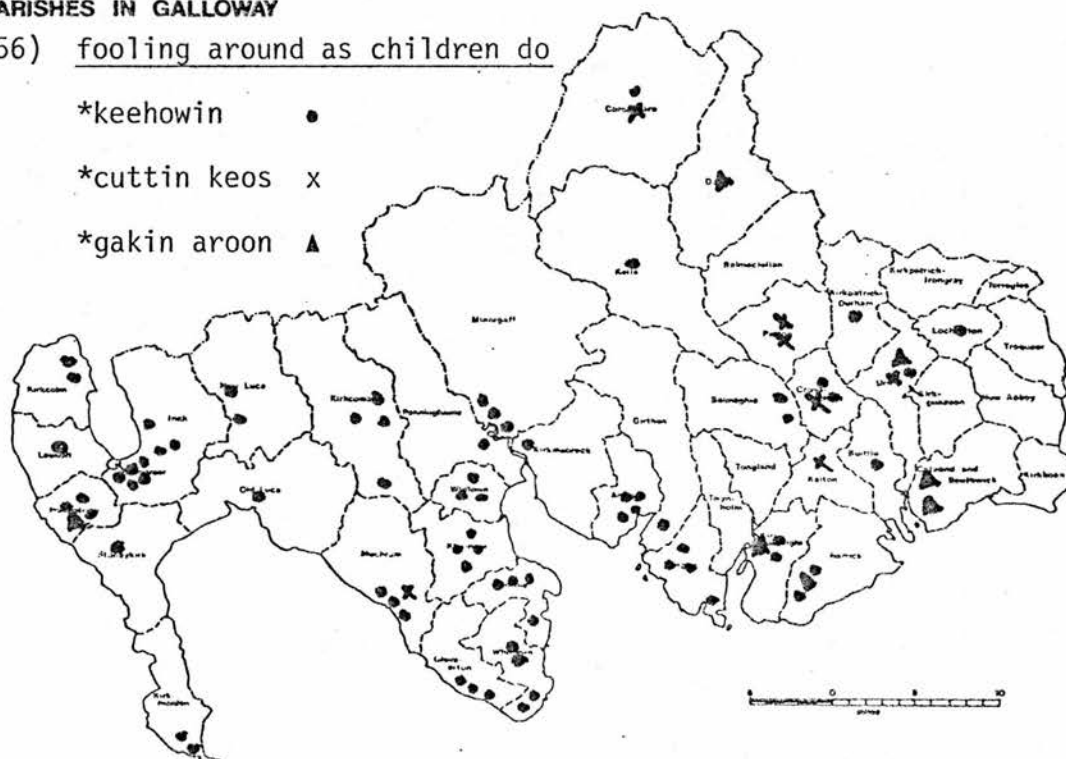
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(56) fooling around as children do

*keehowin •

```
*cuttin keos x
```

*gakin aroon ▲

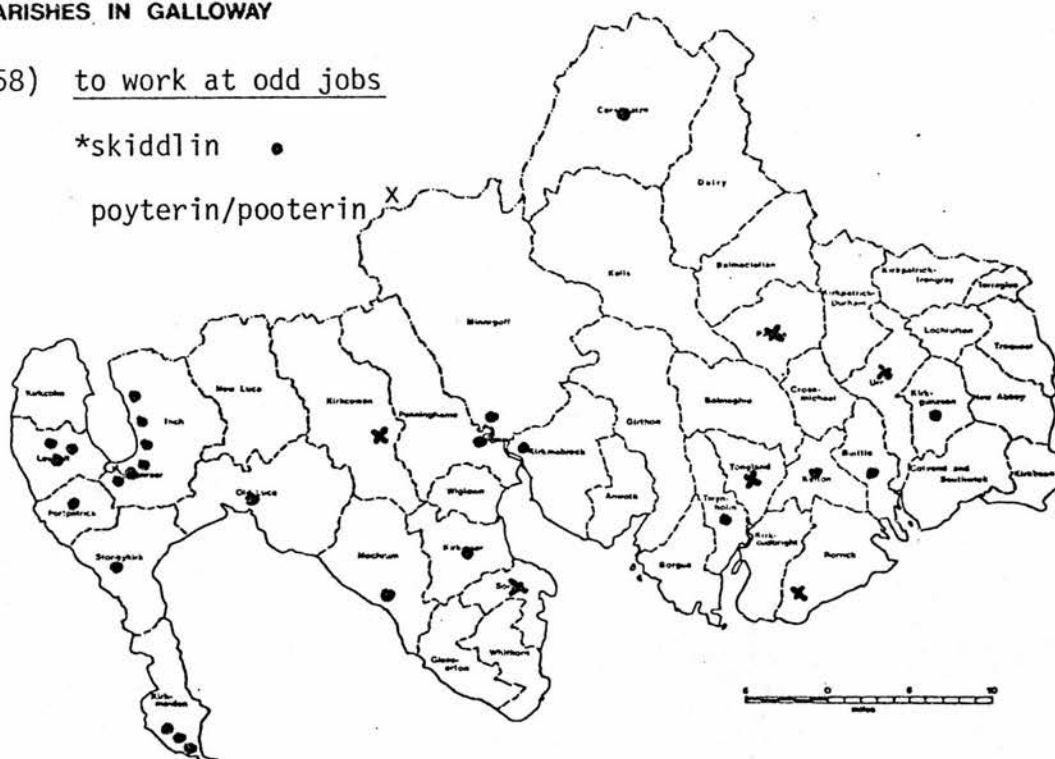


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(58) to work at odd jobs

*skiddlin •

poyterin/pooterin^x

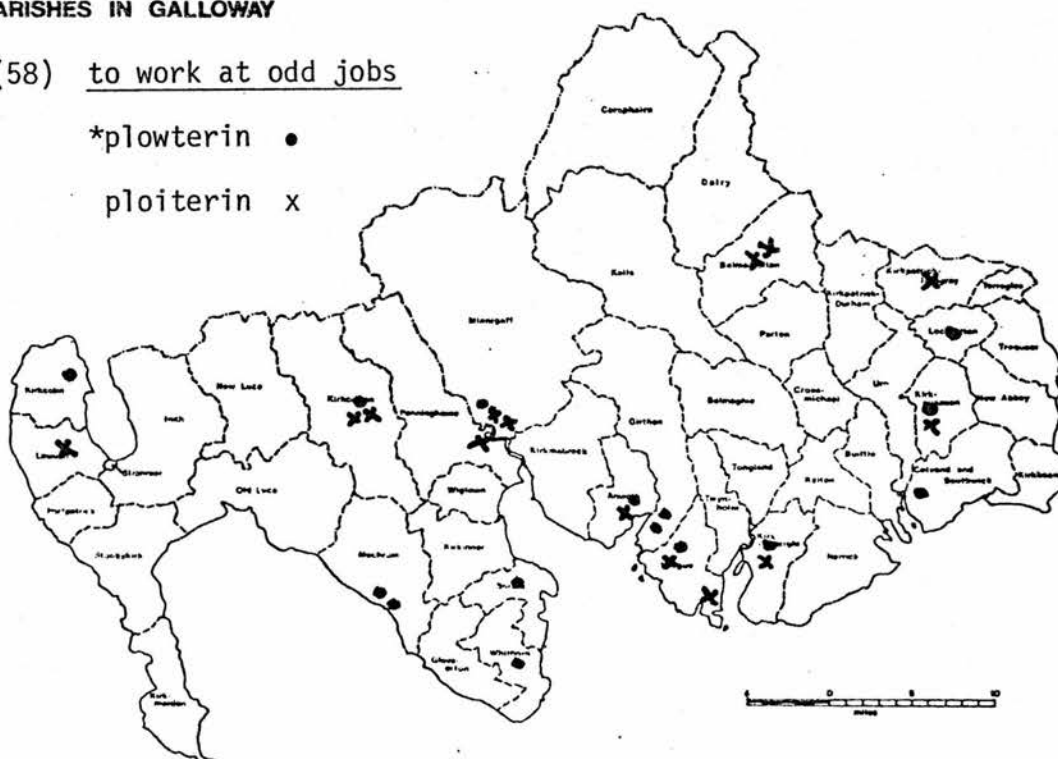


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(58) to work at odd jobs

*plowterin •

ploiterin x



Responses given up to the Nith

(1,2,5)	* step-mother's-breath	JMT	32/20
	* foonerin	T	18/16
	wutherin		21/7
	bask		14/100
(5)	* blashy	LP	7/39
(7)	* smirr	JLMPS, Si	54/107
(9)	* gaw (incl. weather-gaw/water-gaw)	LPT	13/63
(12)	* darkenin	T	13/52
(15)	* slob	JT	2/4
(20)	mim-mooth		6/31
	stooky		19/32
(21)	* clart	JLMPT	15/29
	* through-ither	JMPST	12/23
(26)	* corry-varieties (see Word Notes)	Ba	51/121
(31)	* done up to the 99s	T	22/5
	done up to the 9s		17/41
	* weel-buskit	FJB	2/5
	dressed up like a dish o' fish		9/8
	dressed up like a flea-hyeuk (incl.		
	buskit-up/rigged-oot/got-up)		36/79
(34)	* nebbly (incl. nebbit/nebbin)	Si	41/49
	* speirin	T	5/39
(35)	* dour	T	8/53
	ersit		3/71
(40)	stumpy		1/5
	dumpy-fitted		-/5
(43)	* dinglin	PT	28/40
	* dirlin	T	23/28
(51)	* clackin	T	8/14
	* gabbin	T	3/19
	yatterin		1/9
(53)	* back-snash	T	21/6
	cyanglin		-/10
(54)	* carfuffle	T	-/7
	collyshangie		8/9
	stramash		23/15
(56)	daffin		2/10
(58)	plitterin (incl. plutterin, plooterin)		20/67
(64)	* lowse	MT	14/42
(71)	* prod	LMPS	10/16

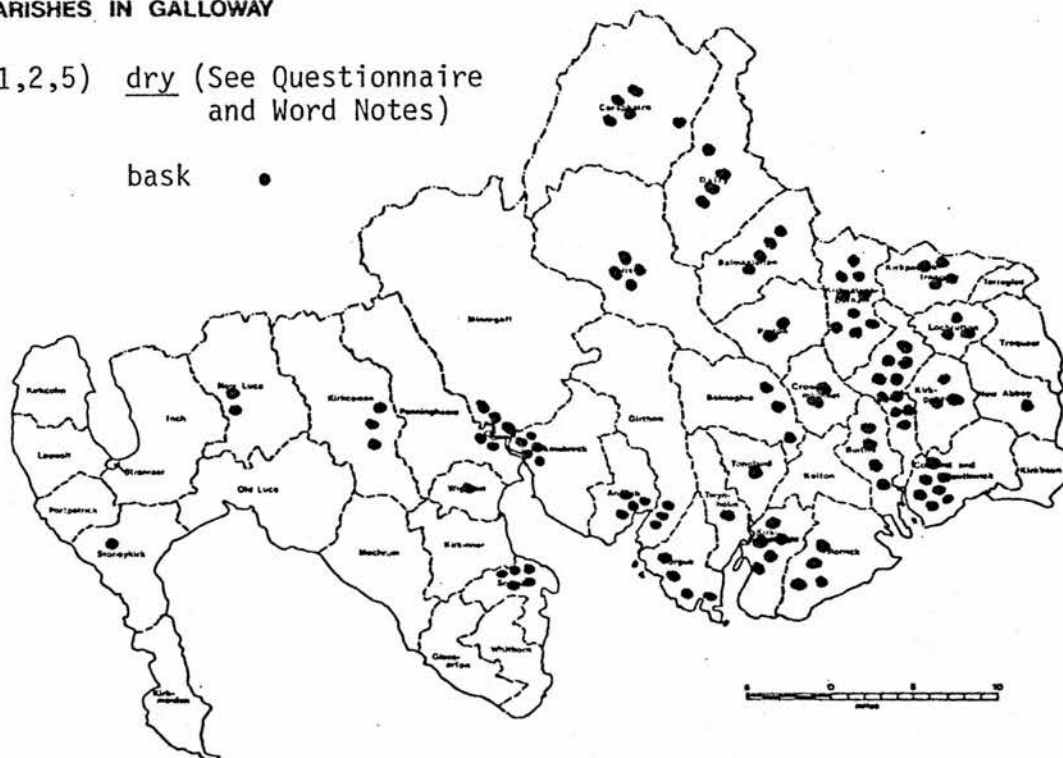
	steer		6/13
	ripe		19/59
	pork		-/8
	howk		1/6
(74)	hurl		9/60
(77)	* clash	JLMT	7/25
(78)	pant		31/49
	set		3/28
	tear		-/11
(79)	worthy		2/32
	wag		3/29
(80)	* ^l stamsteery	T	4/2
	stam-varieties (incl. ramstammle/ rammin & stammin/stam-jam/cam-stam)		5/2
	steer-varieties (incl. ramsteery/ camsteery/in a steer)		6/1
	* ramstam	FJB, LMPT	23/18
	brainge		33/83
(84)	* feart	T	7/5
	* fearsom	T	4/17
	* flysom (incl. fleysom/fleesom)	P	27/53
	gliff		-/5
(88)	splint-new		3/24
	split-new		2/13
(92)	* drawn-image	T	24/11
	spittin-image		39/64
	very-image		1/6
	* spit (incl. leevin-spit/very-spit/ deid-spit)	J	16/24
(102)	* flichters (incl. flechters/ flickters)	M	13/9
	flichens (incl. flickens/fleckins/ flechins/flithens/flockens)		11/83
(122)	nap (incl. nappy)		2/26
	firkin		6/2
	tub		14/23

(141)	* fankled (incl. fankle/fanked) burbled taigled	L	37/42 4/65 1/5
(152)	scutch		43/54
(160)	* tartle	T	26/5
(184)	mools (incl. mills/mooly/milly/ meally)		8/5
(208)	* cutty	Si	3/80

PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(1,2,5) dry (See Questionnaire
and Word Notes)

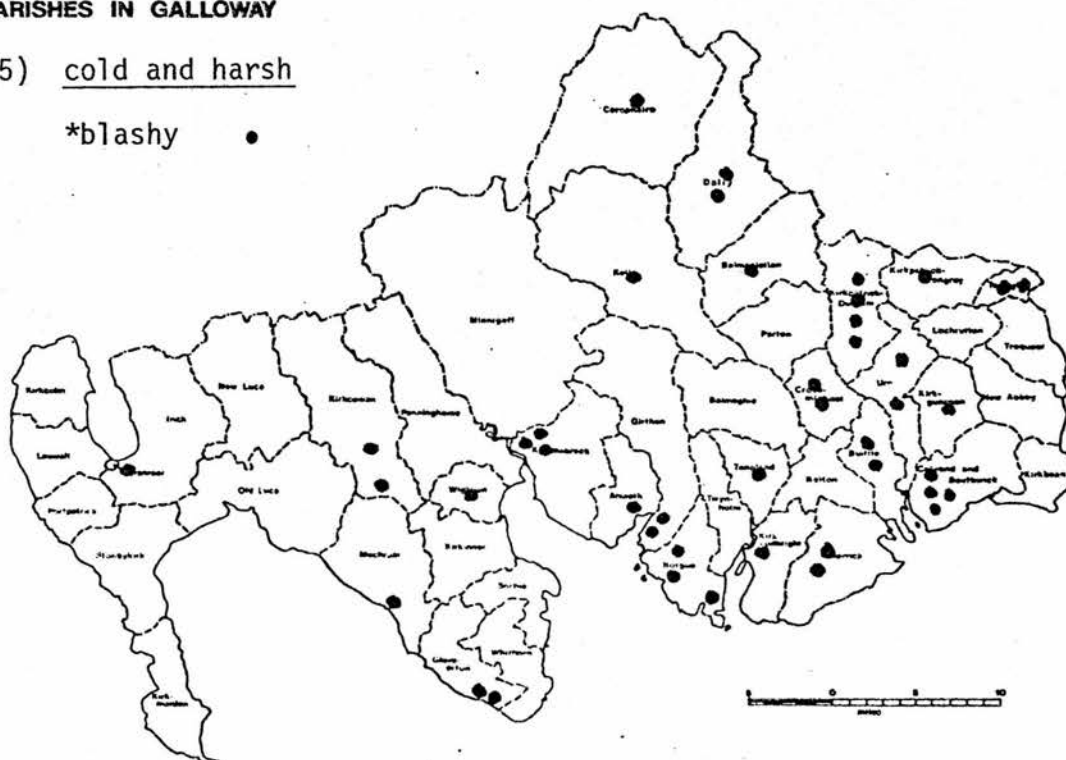
bask •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(5) cold and harsh

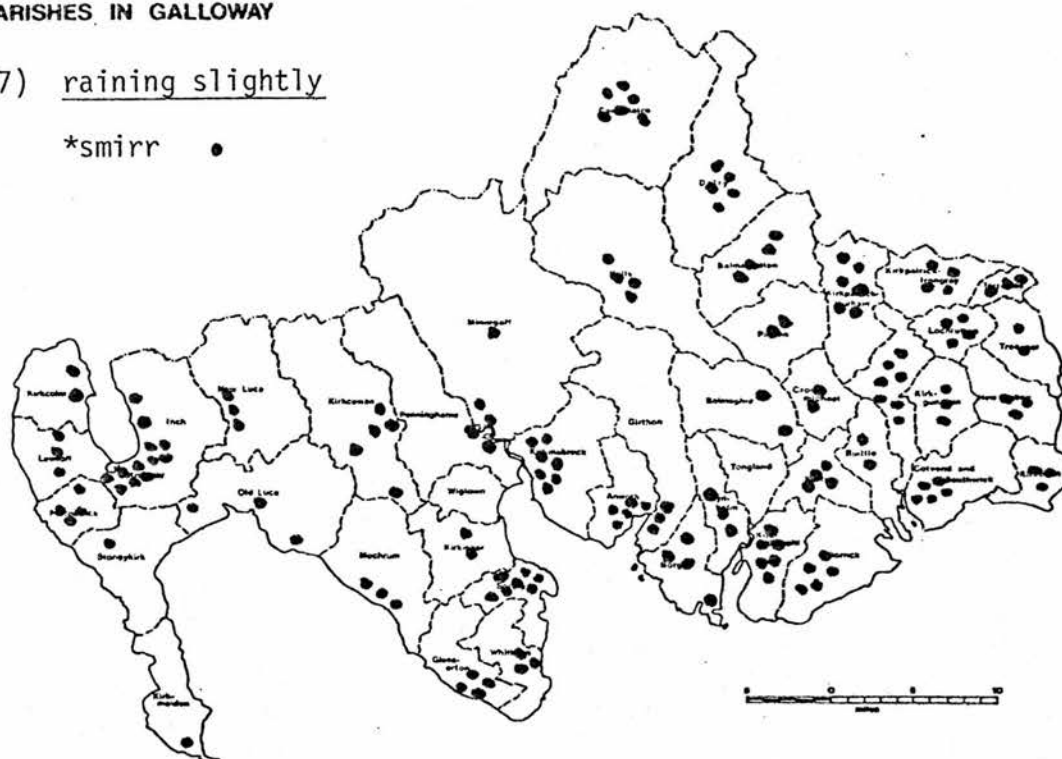
*blashy •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(7) raining slightly

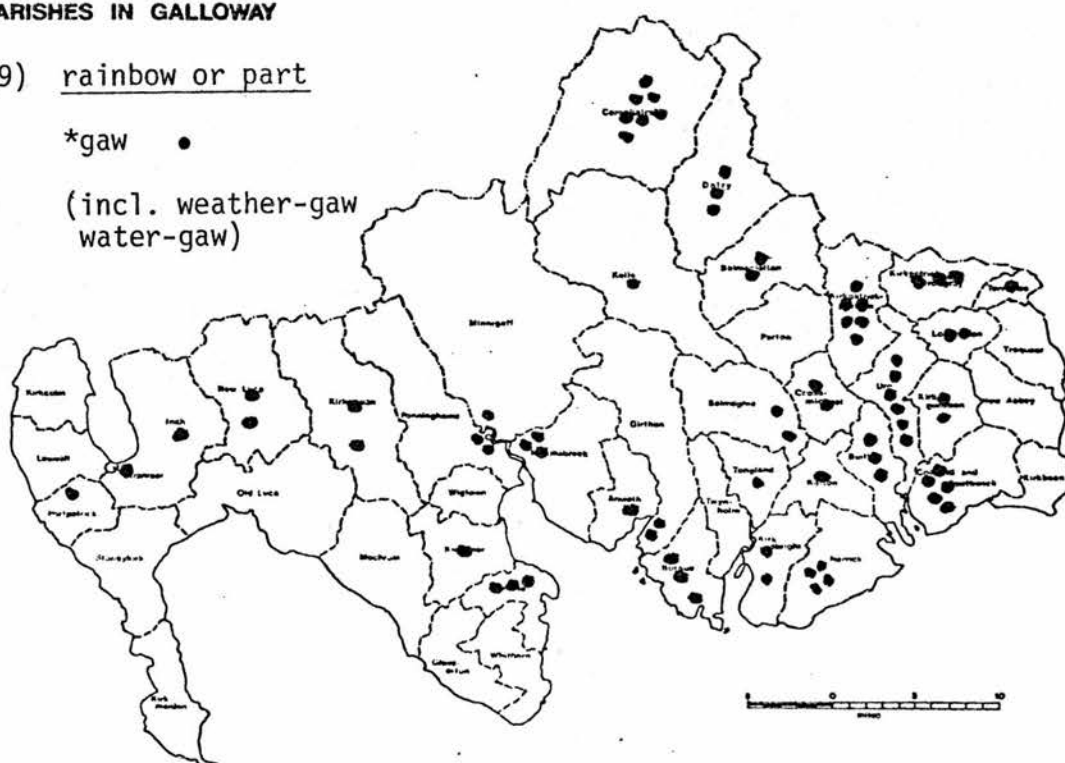
*smirr •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(9) rainbow or part

*gaw •

(incl. weather-gaw
water-gaw)

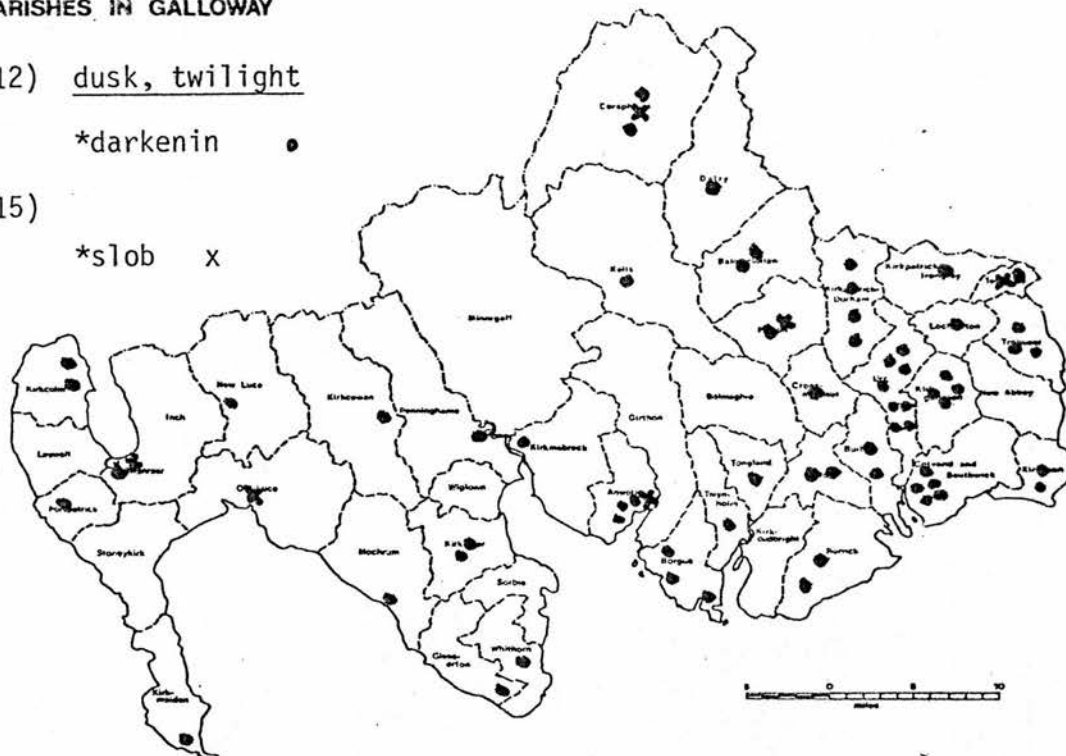
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(12) dusk, twilight

*darkenin

(15)

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*slob    x
```

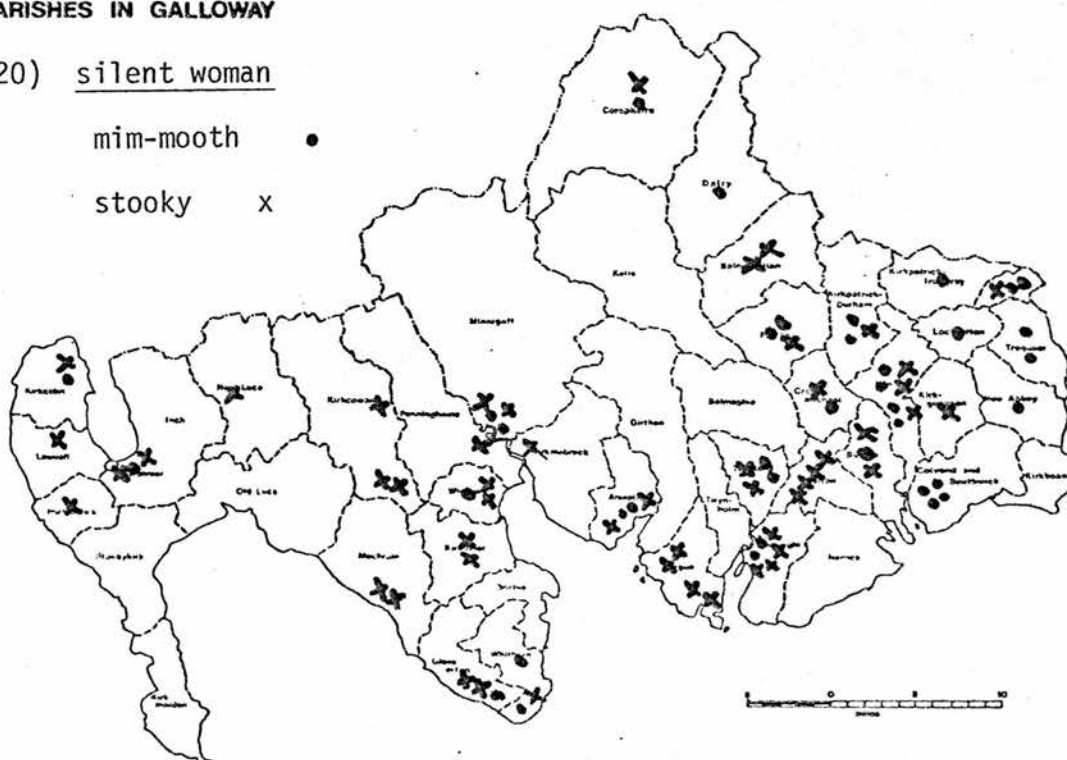


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(20) silent woman

mim-mooth

stooky x

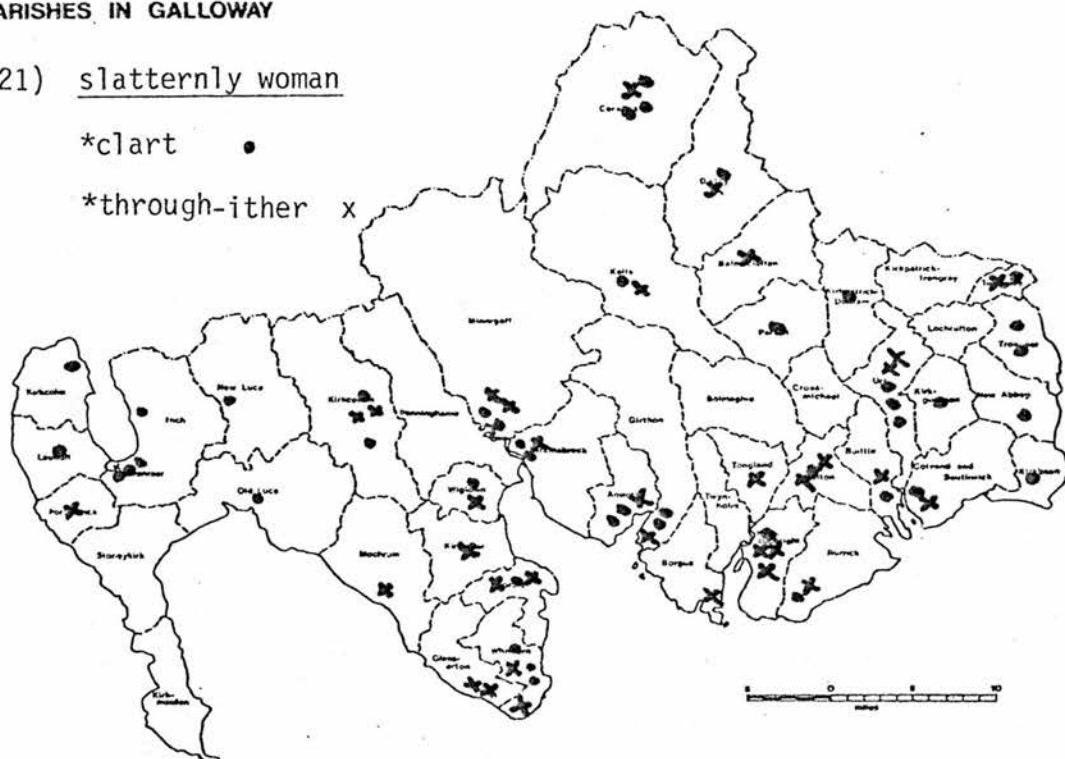


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(21) slatternly woman

*clart •

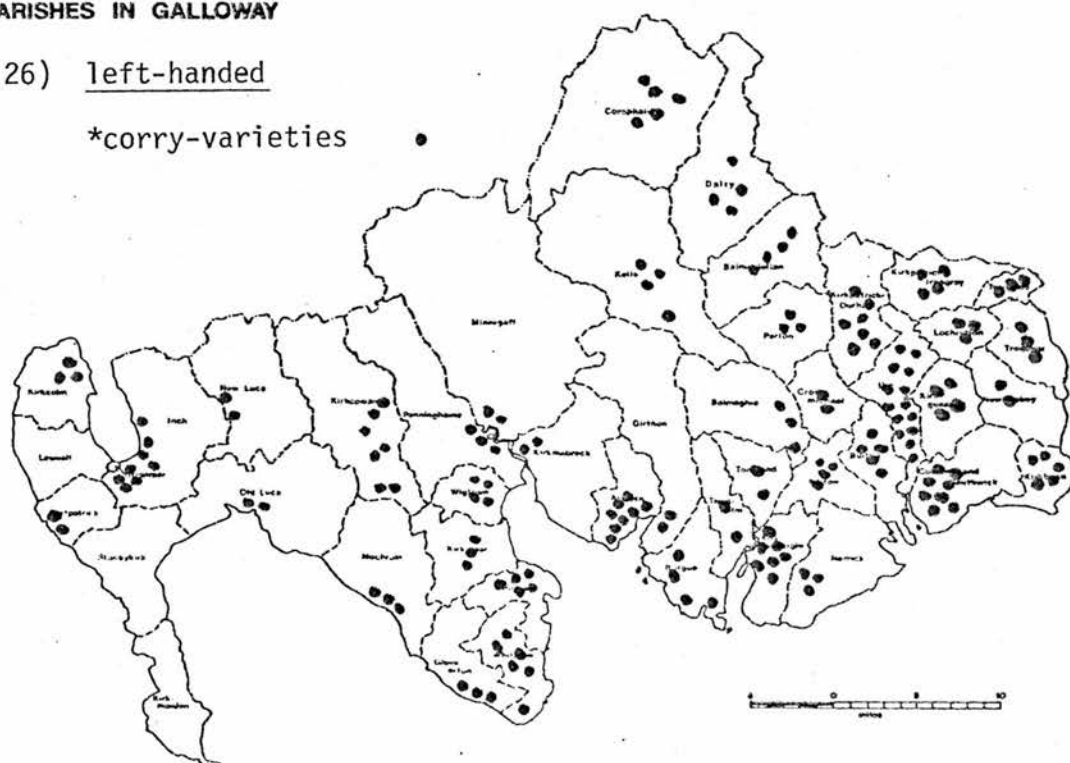
*through-ither x



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(26) left-handed

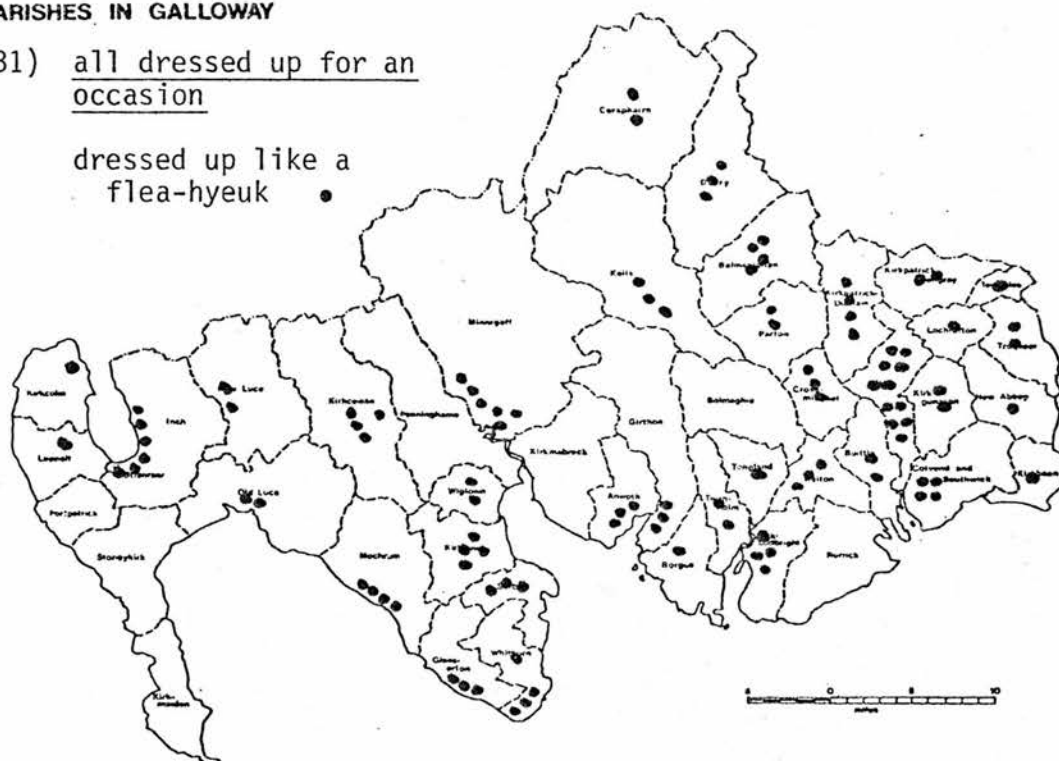
*corry-varieties •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(31) all dressed up for an occasion

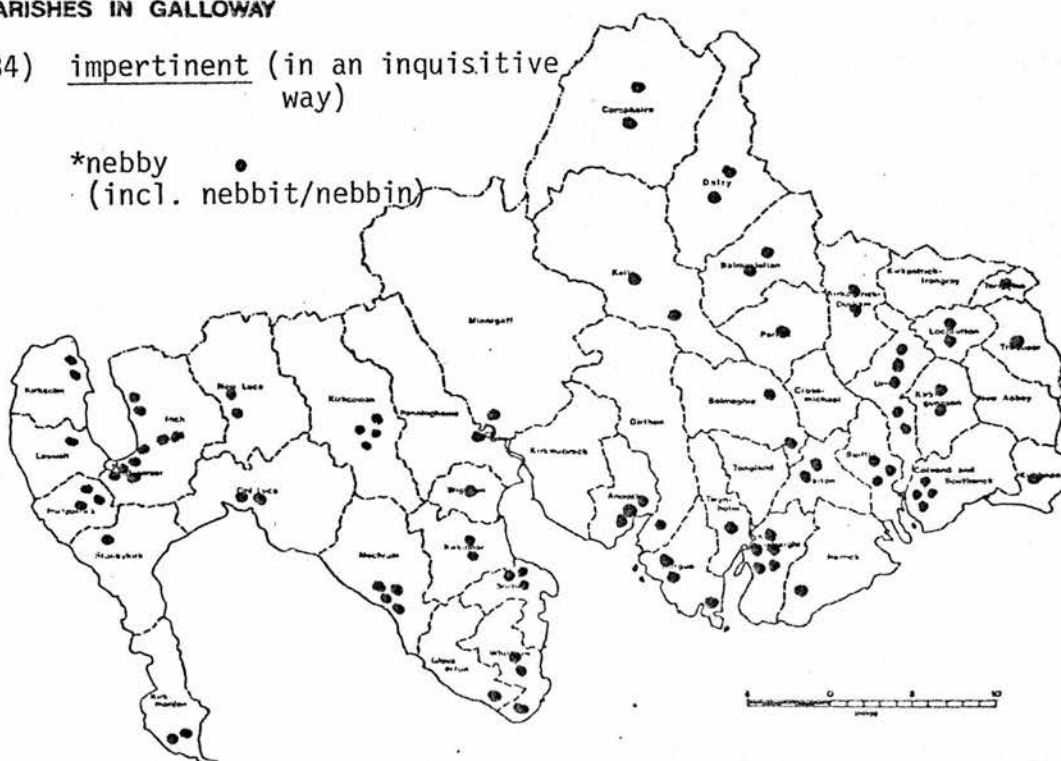
dressed up like a
flea-hyeuk •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(34) impertinent (in an inquisitive way)

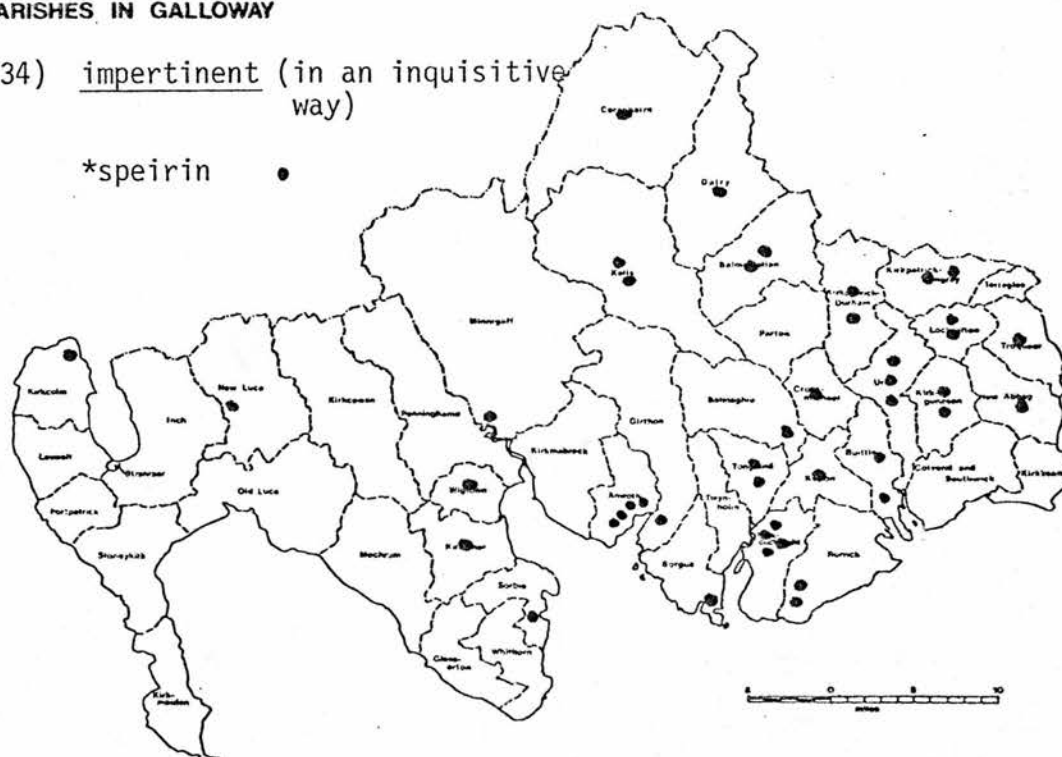
*nebbby •
(incl. nebbit/nebbin)



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(34) impertinent (in an inquisitive way)

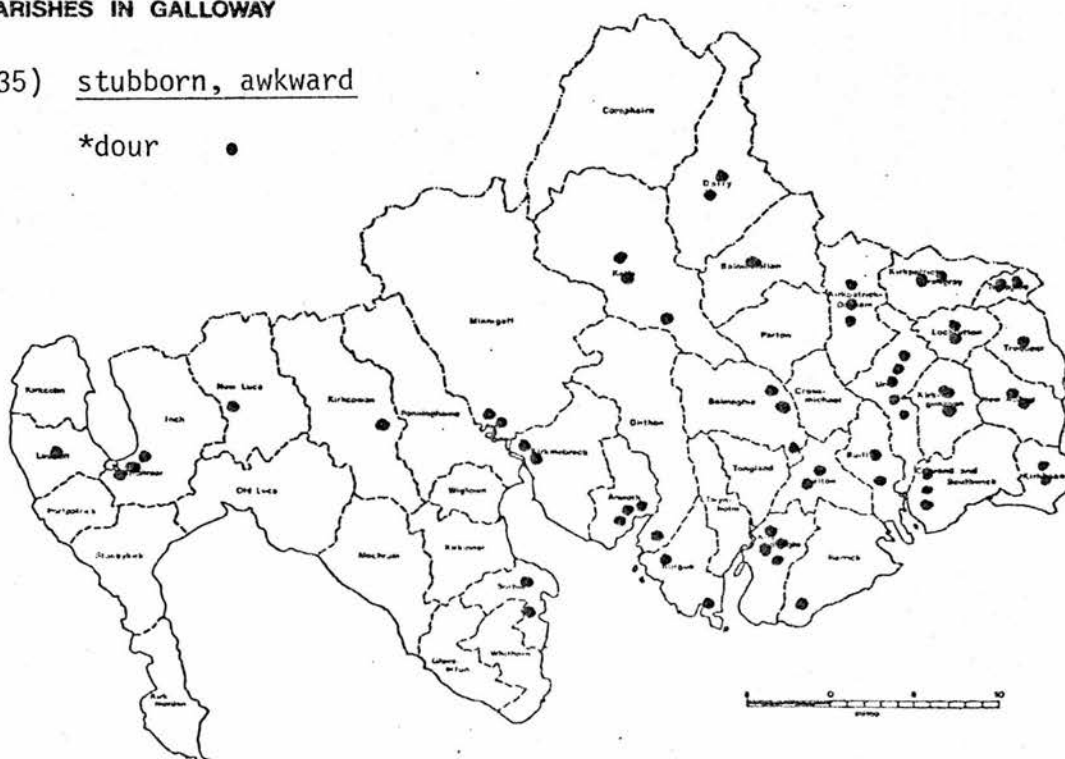
```
*speirin
```



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(35) stubborn, awkward

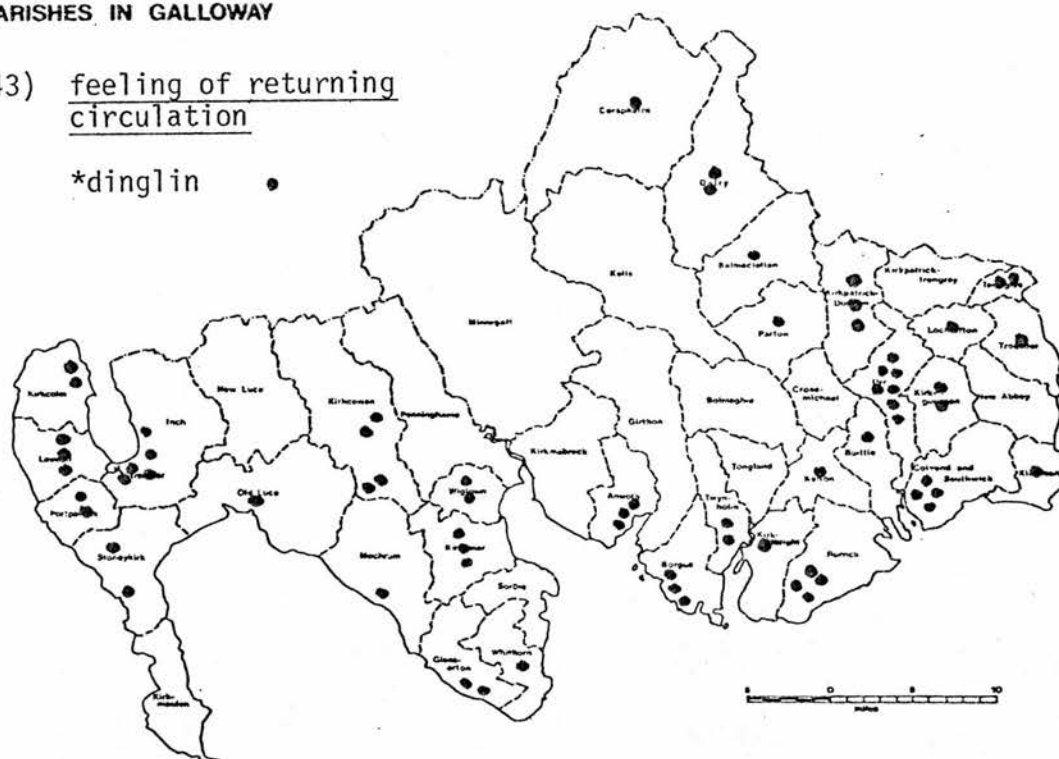
*dour



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(43) feeling of returning circulation

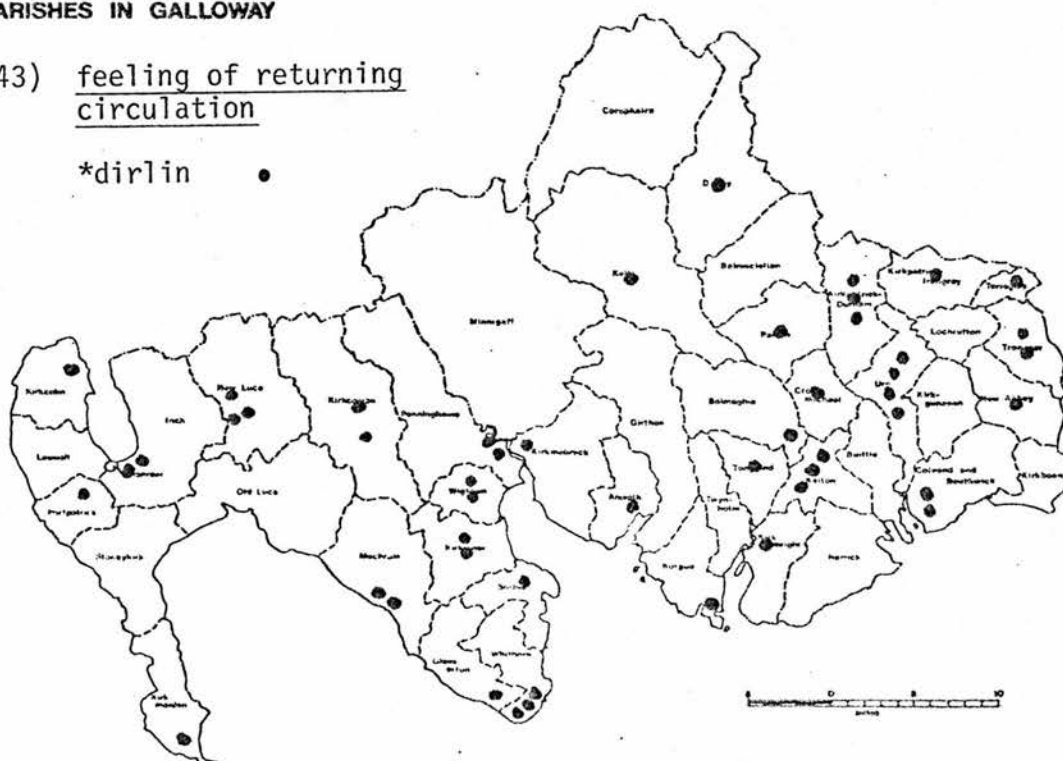
*dinglin



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(43) feeling of returning circulation

*dirlin



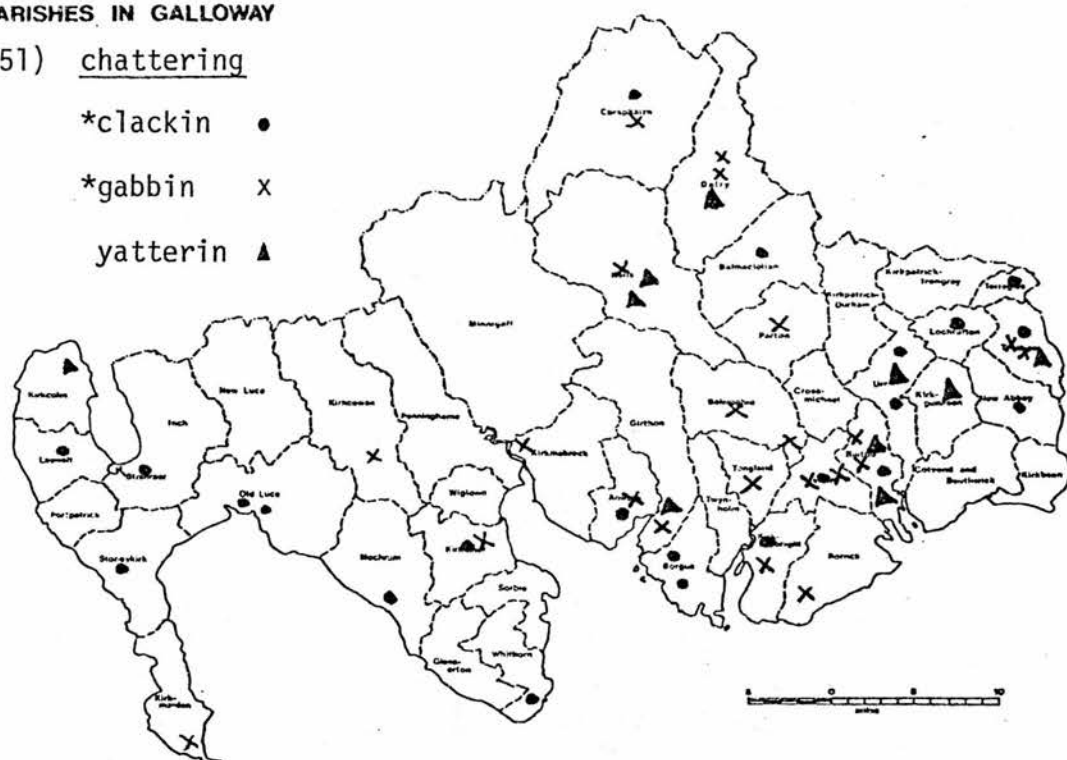
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(51) chattering

*clackin •

*gabbin x

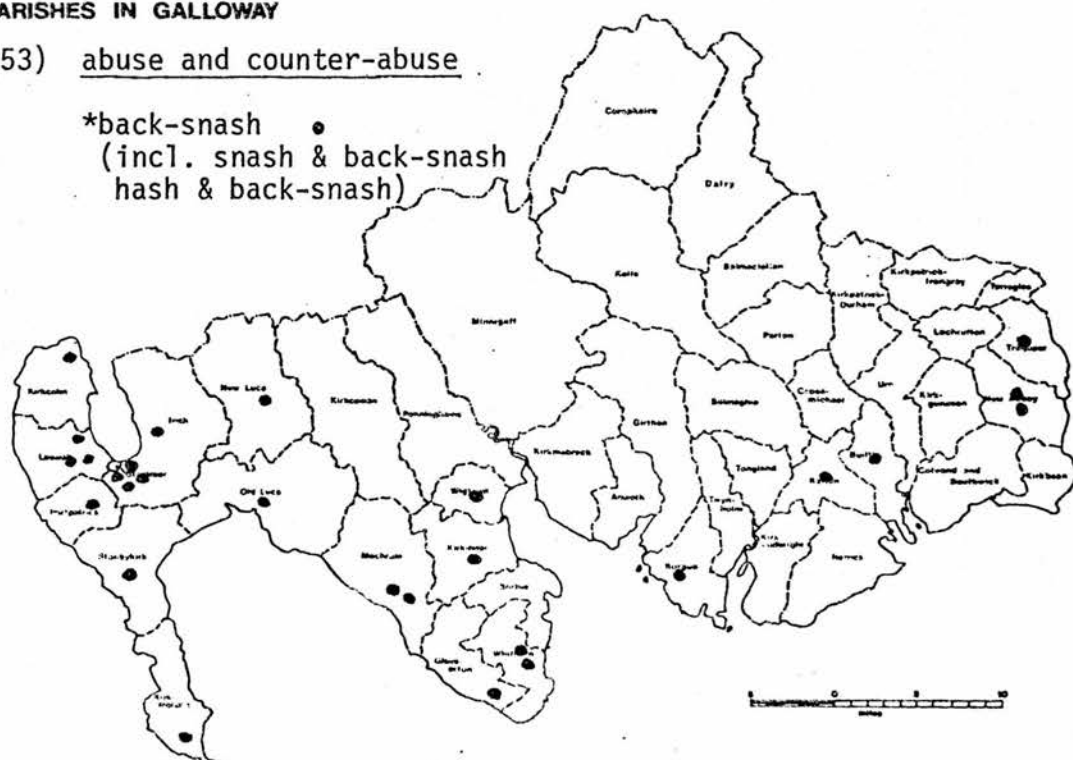
yatterin ▲



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(53) abuse and counter-abuse

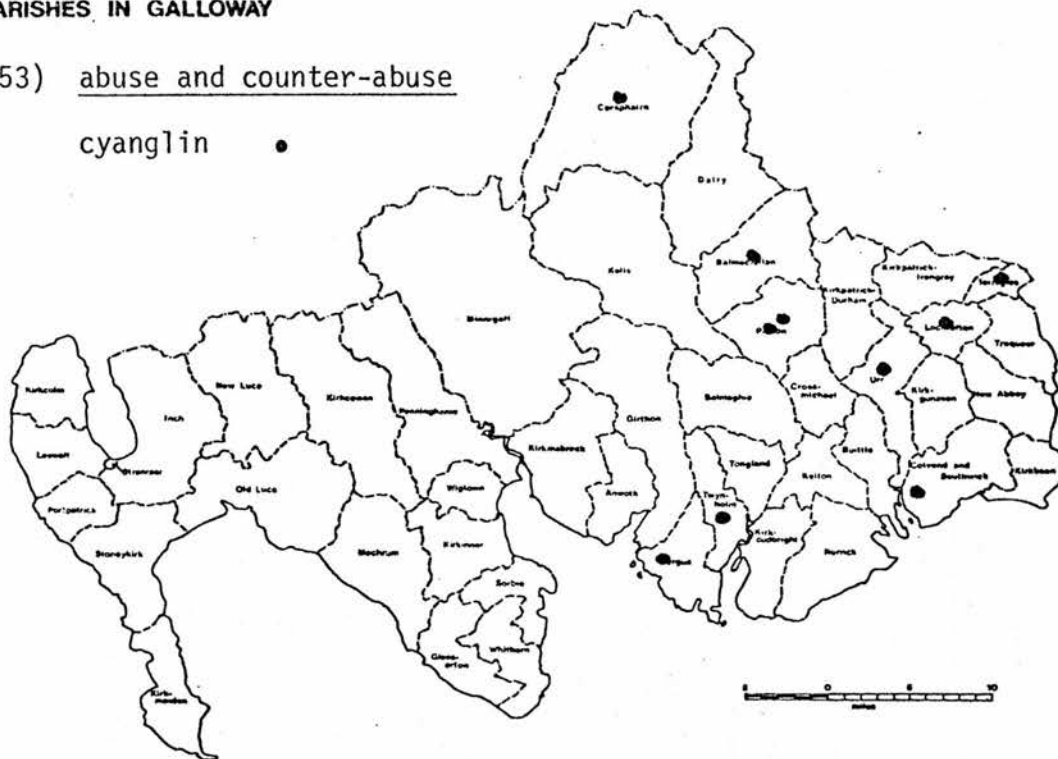
*back-snash •
 (incl. snash & back-snash
 hash & back-snash)



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(53) abuse and counter-abuse

cyanglin •

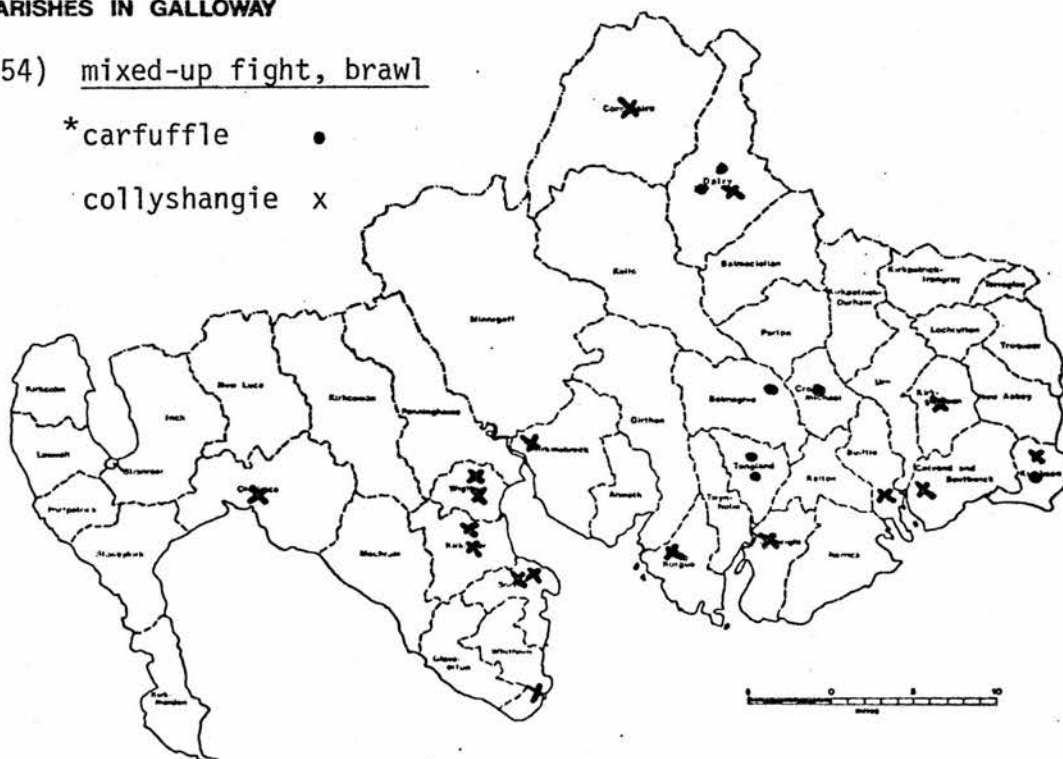


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(54) mixed-up fight, brawl

*carfuffle •

collyshangie x

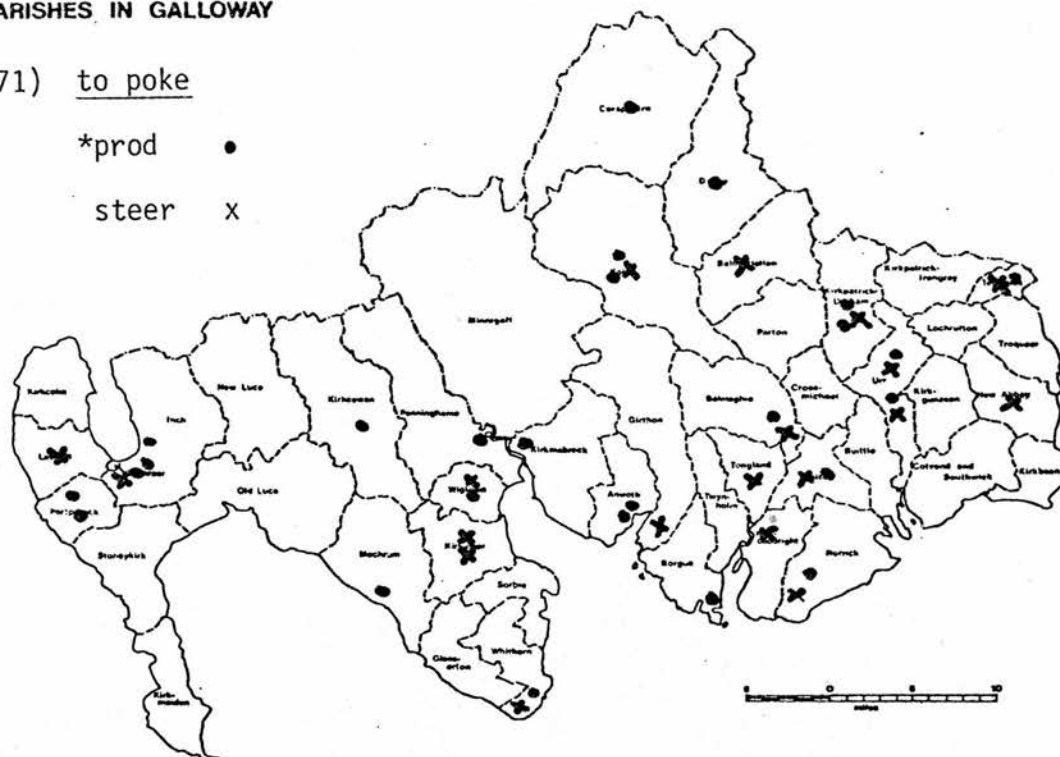


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(71) to poke

*prod •

steer x



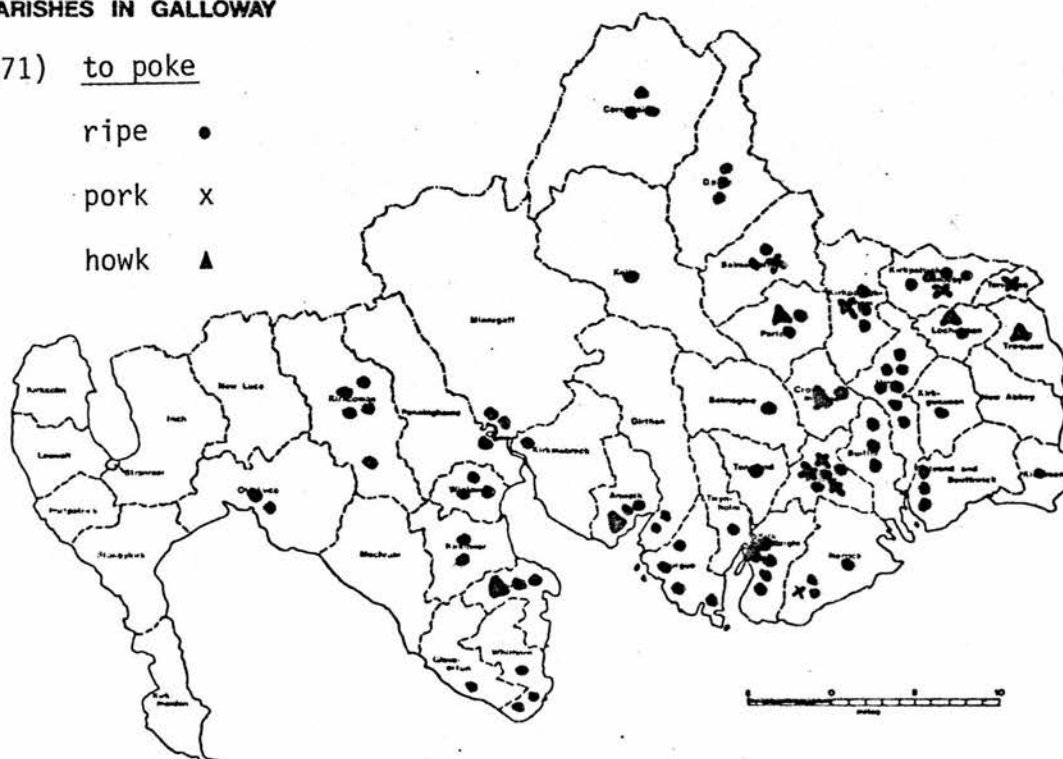
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(71) to poke

- ripe •

· pork x

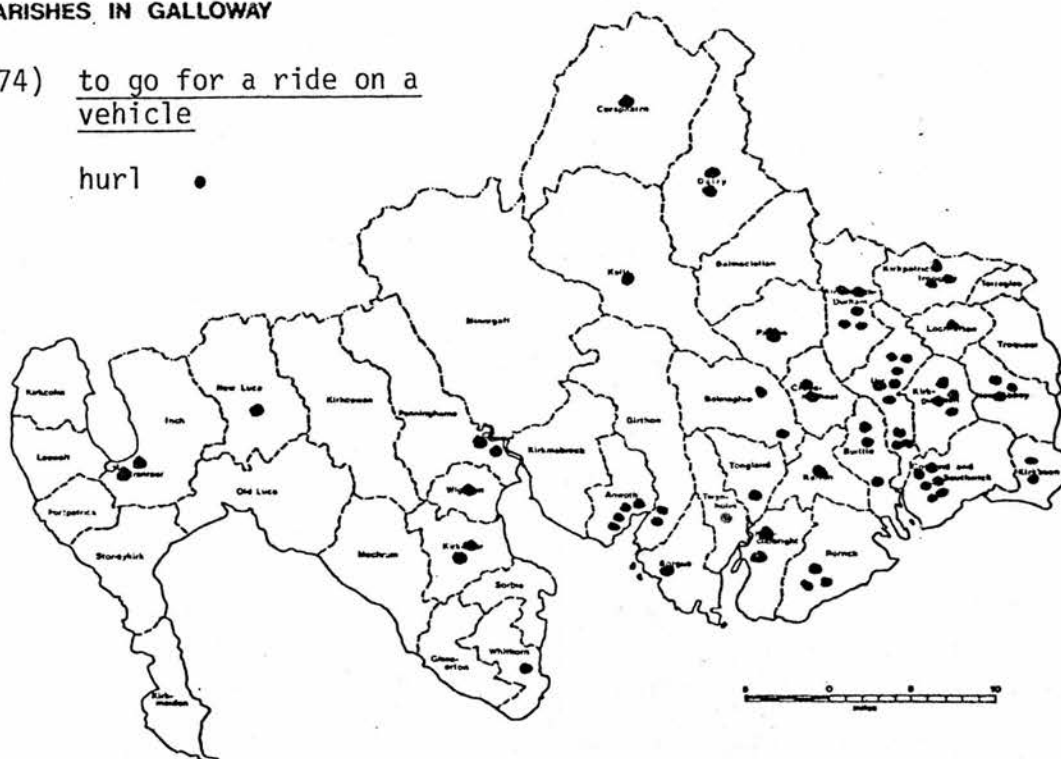
howk ▲



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(74) to go for a ride on a vehicle

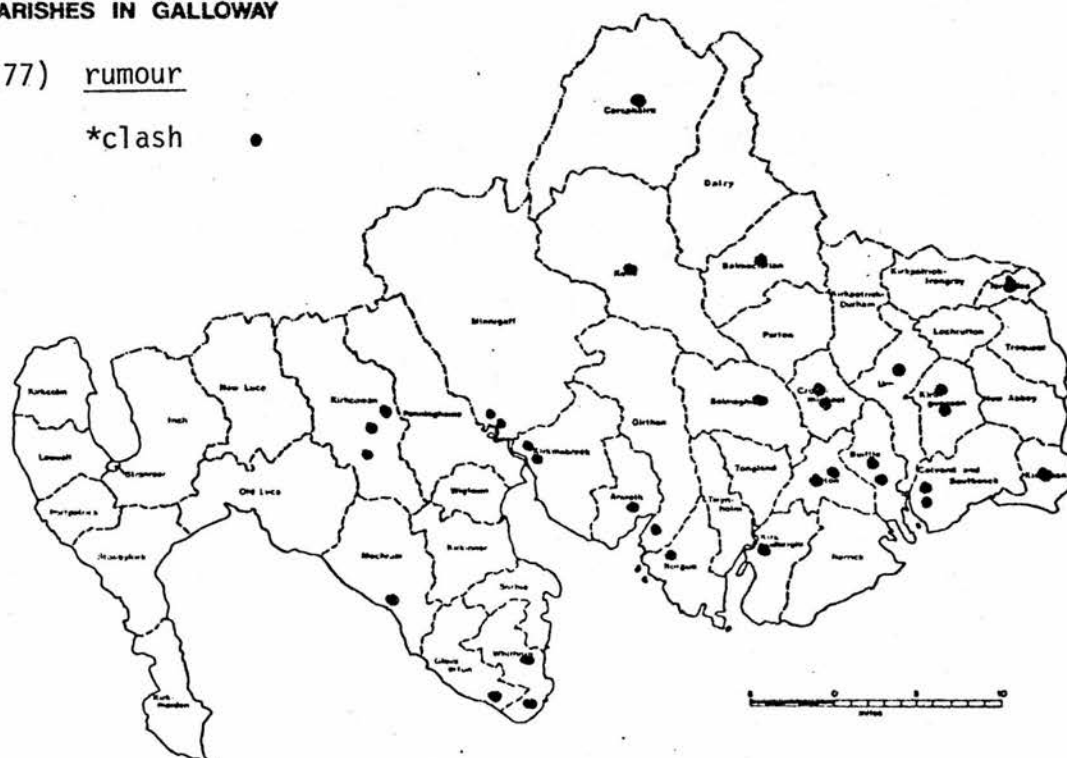
hur1 •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(77) rumour

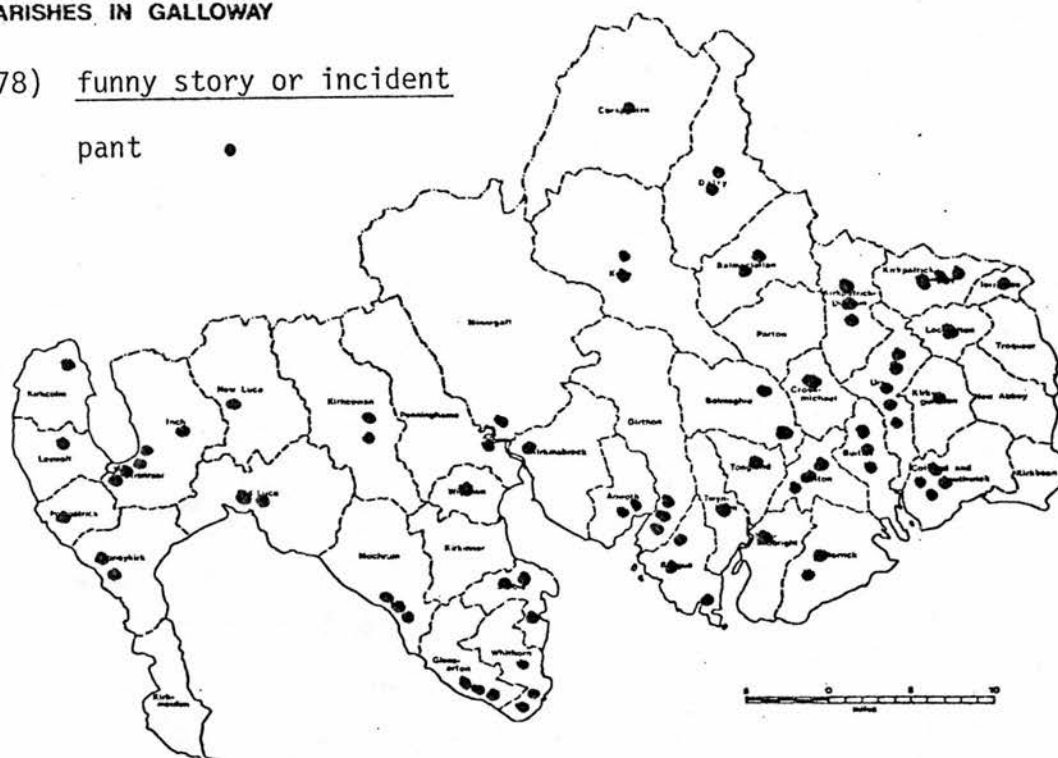
*clash •



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(78) funny story or incident

pant •

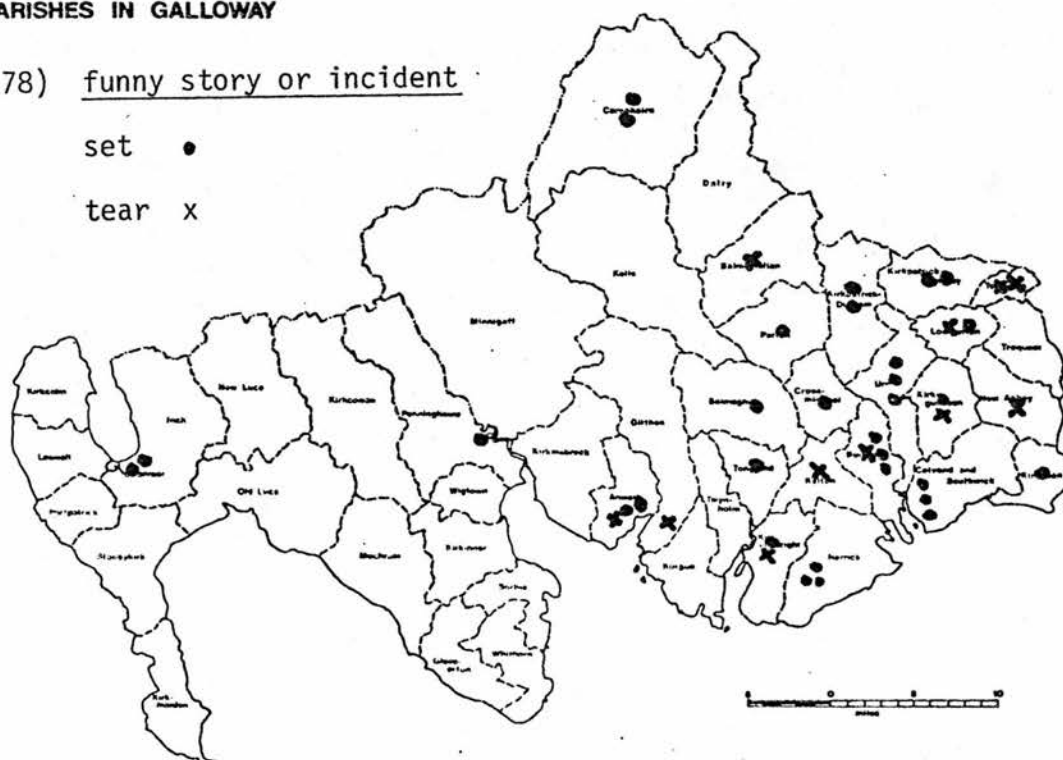


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(78) funny story or incident

set •

tear x

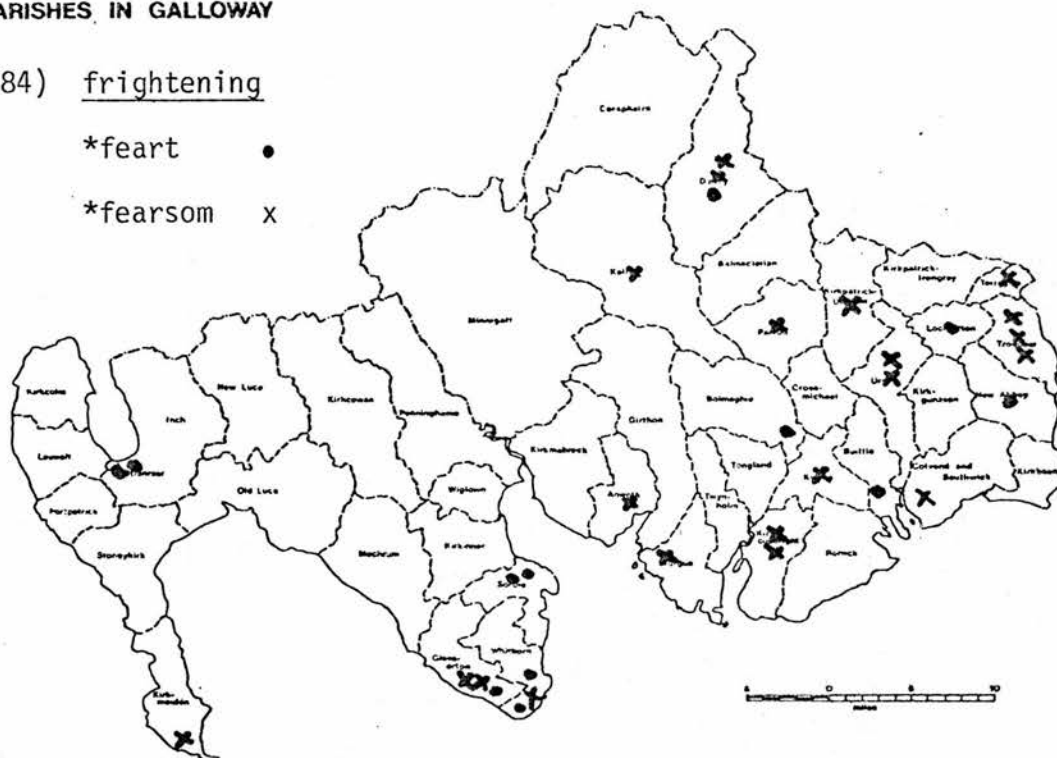


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(84) frightening

*feart •

*fearsom x



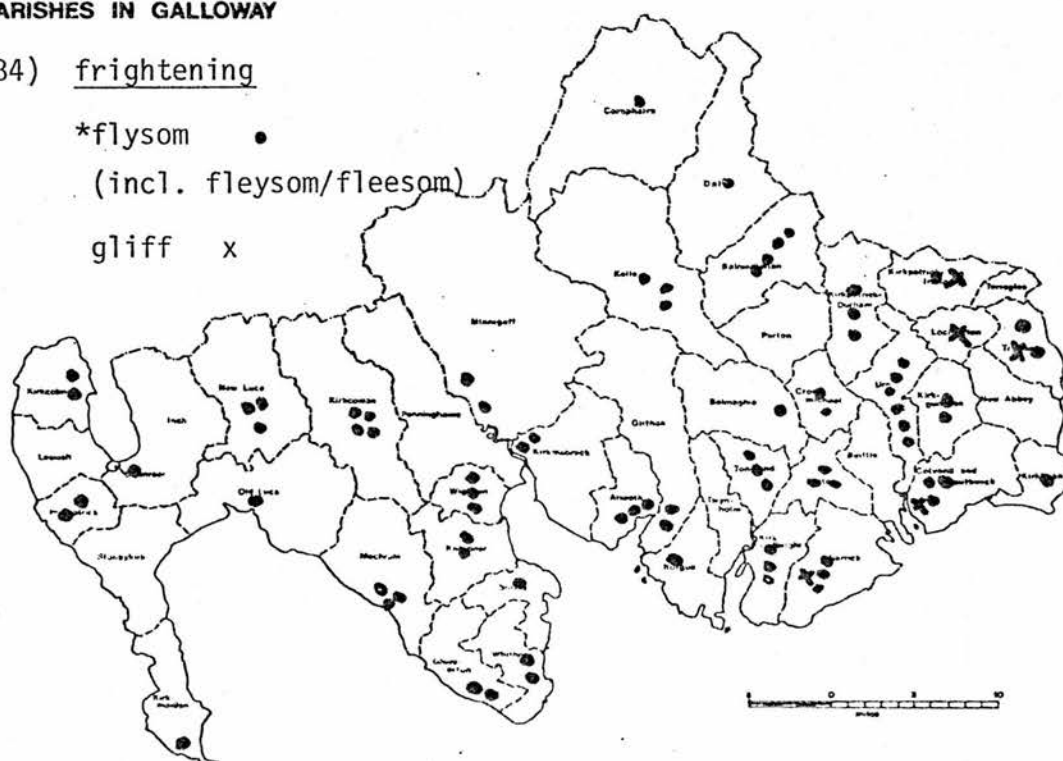
PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(84) frightening

*flysom •

(incl. fleysom/fleesom)

gliff x



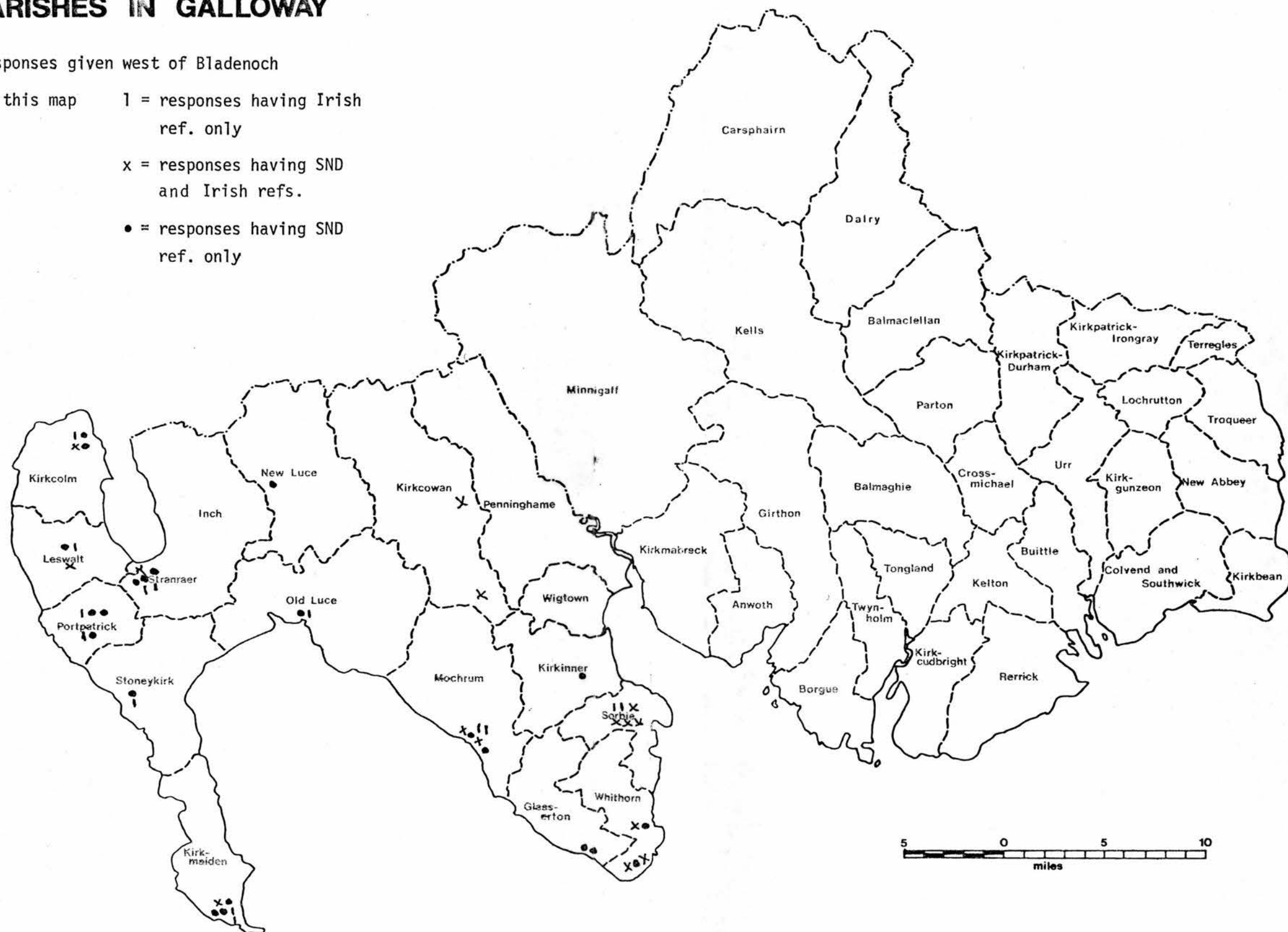
The same responses
shown compositely
density/distribution
maps.

Responses Given West of Bladenoch

PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

Responses given west of Bladenoch

- on this map
- 1 = responses having Irish ref. only
 - x = responses having SND and Irish refs.
 - = responses having SND ref. only



Responses Given West of Cree

PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

Responses given west of Cree

on this map

1 = responses having

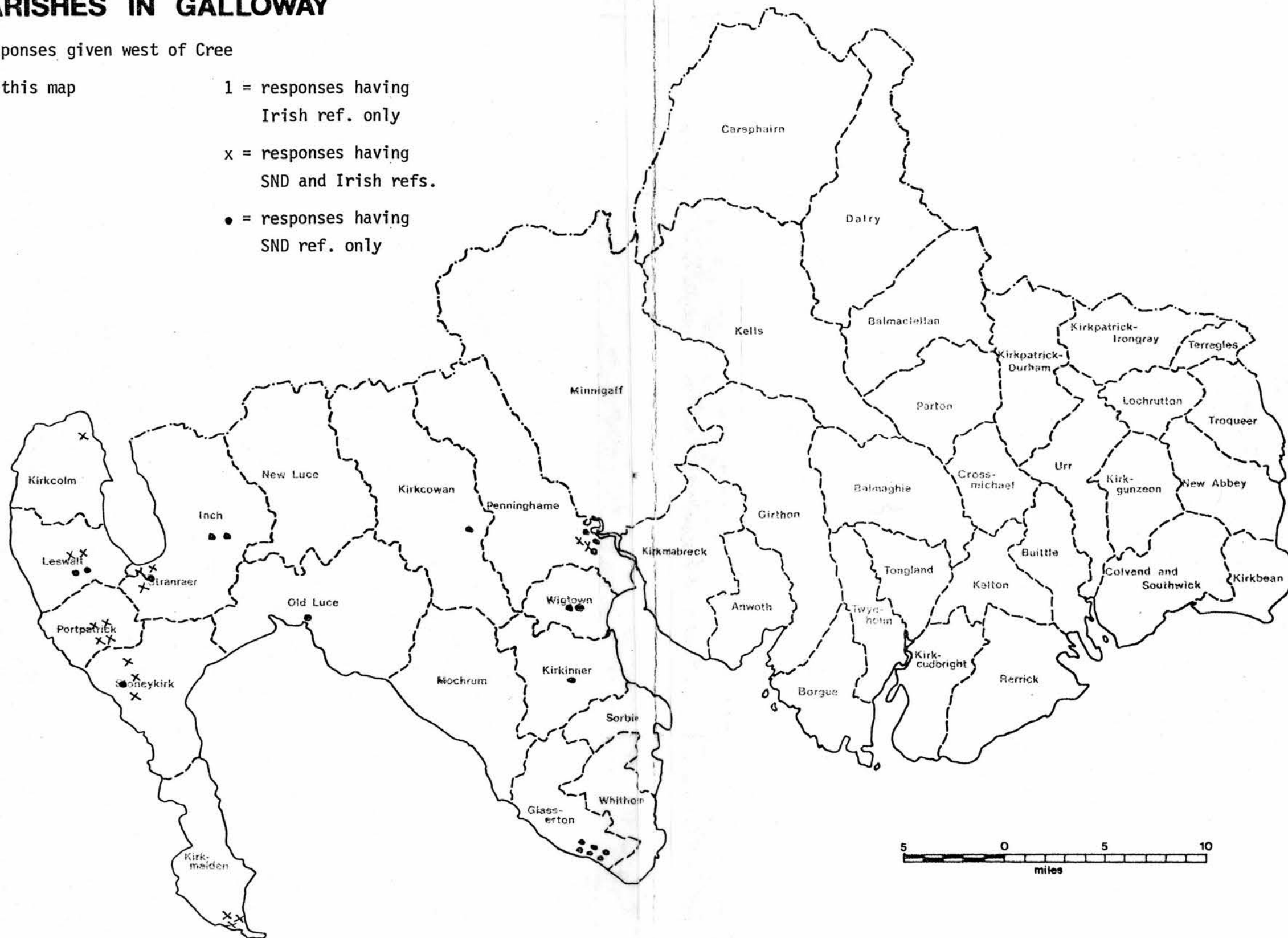
Irish ref. only

x = responses having

SND and Irish refs.

• = responses having

SND ref. only



Responses Given West of a Line
Drawn From Lake of Cree to Upper Dee Estuary

Responses Given West of Urr

Responses Given West of a Line
Drawn Through the Parishes
Contiguous With the Nith Parishes

PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

Responses given up to the Nith

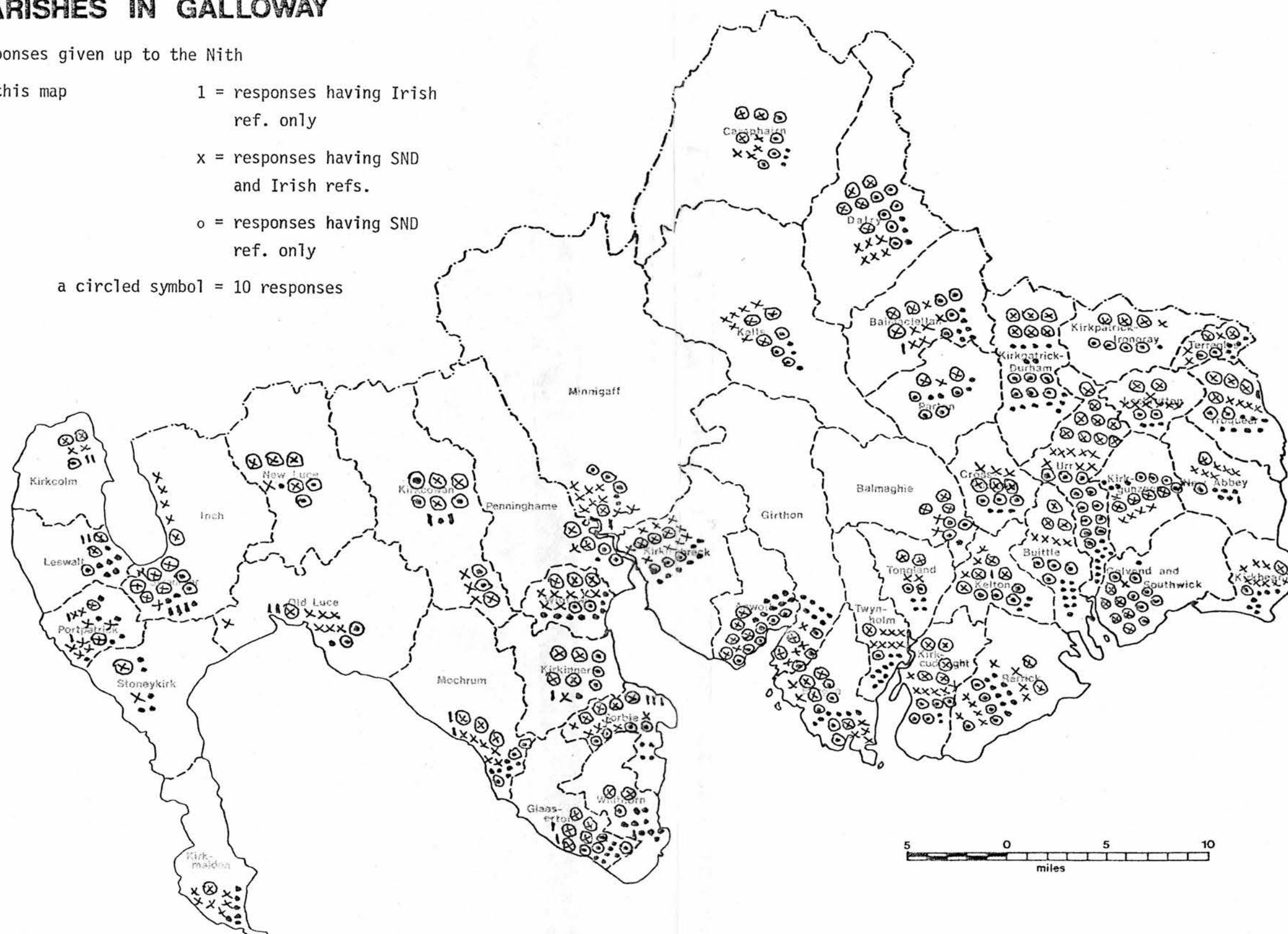
on this map

1 = responses having Irish
ref. only

x = responses having SND
and Irish refs.

o = responses having SND
ref. only

a circled symbol = 10 responses



2nd Comparison

The 1st Comparison emphasized the high degree of relatedness between the material with Irish reference and certain geographical boundaries. The 2nd Comparison looks at the same material in terms of the methods of linguistic geography, which, as the editors of The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland say:

"...is concerned with the study of the elements of language varieties in their relative geographical positions and tries to establish linguistic distribution areas which can be shown on maps, by a comparison of linguistic data...."⁵

The 192 responses to the questions, in the 55 items which were chosen for analysing, were given:

- I. Not confined to smaller or sub-geographical areas and occurring in either a) larger or b) smaller numbers
- II. Confined to smaller or sub-geographical areas

I. Not confined to smaller or sub-geographical areas

(The whole region is shown, map page 372, with the uninhabited areas shaded, towns by squares and villages by circles; the population of the whole region was 54,790 at last census - divided almost equally between Wgt & Kcb - living largely in 5 towns and villages but with some in more isolated places, as, for example, shepherds. The responses were given by 221 primary informants and 110 secondary informants - 1 in 265 of the total population.)

⁵The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Ibid. Introduction p. 8.

a) Responses given at least 20 times

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(1,2,5)	* step-mother's breath	23/13
	* foonerin	18/16
	wutherin	21/7
	bask	14/100
(5)	* blashy	7/39
(6)	overcastin	12/18
(7)	* smirr	54/107
(9)	* gaw	13/63
(12)	* darkenin	13/52
(15)	* brosey	13/7
(20)	stooky	19/32
	* quate	7/31
(21)	* clart	15/29
	* through-ither	12/23
(22)	* drag	7/14
(26)	* corry & varieties	51/121
(31)	dressed up to the 9s	17/41
	dressed up like a flea-hyeuk	36/79
(32)	bien	18/16
(34)	* nebbby	41/45
(36)	* carnapshus	23/15
(40)	* reel-fittet	37/24
(42)	* dofe	29/15
(43)	* dinglin	28/40
	* dirlin	23/28
(47)	* swampit	27/24
(51)	gablin	17/7
(53)	* back snash	21/6
(54)	stramash	23/15
(56)	* keehowin	46/27

(See Alphabetical Index of Words p. 362 for reference to pages where the Items are shown geographically.)

Responses given at least 20 times--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(58)	* skiddlin	18/7
	plitterin	20/67
(64)	* deval/devar	10/14
	* devalve	6/74
	* lowse	14/42
(71)	steer	6/13
	ripe	19/59
(77)	* clash	7/25
(78)	pant	31/49
(79)	* kyo	16/13
(80)	* ramstam	23/18
	brainge	33/83
(84)	* flysom	27/53
(92)	* drawn-image	24/11
	spitten-image	39/64
	* spit	16/24
(102)	* flichters	13/29
	flichens	11/83
(122)	tub	14/23
	nap	2/26
(141)	* fankled	37/42
(152)	scutch	43/54
(184)	* channery	24/21

b) Responses given less than 20 times, in scattered pockets

(1)	black, black-east	15/-
	grey-east, grey-easterly, grey-easterlin	3/-
(1,2,5)	pisky	6/1
(5)	* blear	5/1
	* coorse	3/8

Responses given less than 20 times, in scattered pockets--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(6)	drumlie	3/-
	musky	3/-
	* glowerin	9/2
(7)	* drochy	7/2
(8)	* blatterin	9/-
	* plumpin	13/2
(15)	* slob	2/4
(20)	* blate	1/5
(21)	* scut	8/-
	* brock	2/-
	tudderie, dudderie, hudderie, hudderie-dudderie	1/18
	* slaister	-/2
	* slitter	-/2
(22)	* plaister	14/5
	* hanfu'	3/2
	* terge	1/1
	hinnerance	4/11
	* faggot	5/3
(26)	* clootie	2/1
	* feug	7/2
(31)	* weel-buskit	2/5
	dressed-up like a dish o' fish	9/8
	* warm	6/2
(32)	bettermos	-/13
(34)	* snashie	2/-
(35)	* takin the sturdies	-/5
(40)	stumpy	1/5
	dumpy-fittet	-/5
(43)	* dindle	5/-
	prinklin	5/3
	pringlin	2/3

Responses given less than 20 times, in scattered pockets--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(51)	* gafferin	4/-
	nyatterin	3/7
	yitterin	1/3
	nyitterin	4/1
	yatterin	1/9
(53)	cyanglin	-/10
(54)	* brulie	3/-
	* carfuffle	-/7
	collyshangie	8/9
(56)	cuttin kiawies	-/1
	kiyachin	-/2
	skivin	1/3
	* cuttin keos	1/6
	* gakin aroon	1/6
	daffin	2/10
(58)	* polterin	2/-
	* plowterin	6/9
	ploiterin	4/10
(64)	* quit	5/1
	* quat	9/5
(66)	wheegle	5/2
	* wheeble	3/-
(71)	* jab	6/4
	* jag	1/1
	proitle, prockle, *proggie	15/10
	pork	-/8
	howk	1/6
(77)	* sough	7/5
(78)	kyo	1/3
	took	2/3
	bar	1/2

Responses given less than 20 times, in scattered pockets--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(80)	* stamsteery	4/2
	stam-varieties	5/2
(83)	* baiverage	4/4
(84)	* gruesom	2/1
	* feart	7/5
	gliff	-/5
(87)	* rumdinger	7/-
(88)	* unco	6/3
	splinter-new, splinterin-new	
	splinnerin-new	11/-
(92)	spit-image	-/2
	very-image	1/6
(102)	styoochin	3/-
(122)	firkin	6/2
	* cog	5/2
(141)	hankit	-/4
	* fangled	10/56
	warpled	2/5
	taigled	1/5
(153)	* slake	8/2
(169)	* pick	3/8
(184)	* till	2/4
	* bruckle	6/5
	mools	8/5
(215)	* pirrmaw	9/2

II. Confined to smaller or sub-geographical areas

The map (p. 339) shows a) Wgt & Kcb, the two main sub-divisions of the region and b) the Rhinns and Machars, smaller sub-divisions of Wgt. The appropriate parts on each map have been shown. Wgt has been extended,

in the shading, over the Cree and into Kcb, for a short distance, as far as Creetown. This small area has been associated politically, and, as was seen in the 1st Comparison, linguistically, with Wgt rather than Kcb.

a) Responses confined mainly to Wgt

(excluding those given for the Rhinns and the Machars
but may include some already given in Ib)

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(1)	black, black-east	15
(6)	drumlie	3
	musky	3
	* glowerin	11
(9)	* dog	31
	dog varieties	7
(21)	* scut	8
(26)	* flug	30
	* feug	9
	* cloutie	2
(35)	essert	56
(54)	* brulie	3
(57)	* oxter-cog	22
(58)	* polterin	2
(66)	wheegle	7
(71)	proitle	3
	* proddle	15
(74)	* sail	36
(78)	siege	13
(79)	* antic	22
(88)	splinter-new, splinterin-new, splinnerin-new	11
(102)	* flowins	27
(147)	* scraw	24

Responses confined mainly to Wgt--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(160)	* tartle	27
(208)	* chitty	23
(215)	* pirr-maw	10

b) Responses confined to the Rhinns

(which may include some given in Ib)

(1)	grey-east, grey-easterly, grey-easterlin	3
(8)	* blatterin	9
	* plumpin	12
(21)	* brock	2
(37)	* painful	7
(43)	* dindle	4
(51)	* gafferin	3
(87)	* rumdinger	5
	* cog	5

c) Responses confined to the Machars

(which may include some given in Ib)

(1,2,5)	pisky	5
(7)	* drochy	6
(9)	* water-dog	21
(20)	* stum	14
(21)	huggery	2
(34)	* snashie	2
	* scart	14
(42)	* doch	10
(58)	* powter	2
(71)	prockle	6
	* powter	4
(80)	stam-varieties	6
(102)	styoochin	3

d) Responses mainly confined to Kcb

(which may include some already given in Ib)

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(5)	* coorse	8
(9)	* gall, weather-gall, water-gall	10
(20)	* blate	5
	mimooth	31
(21)	* slaister	2
(22)	haud-back	21
(32)	bettermos	13
(34)	forritsom	15
(35)	* takin the sturdies	8
	ersit	71
(36)	cat-wuttit	15
(40)	stumpy	5
	dumpy-fitted	5
(51)	yatterin	9
(53)	cyanglin	10
(54)	* carfuffle	7
(56)	kiyachin	2
	cuttin kiawies	1
	* cuttin keos	6
	skivin	3
	* gakin aroon	6
	daffin	10
(71)	pork	8
	howk	6
(78)	tear	11
	set	28
	bar	2
(79)	worthy	32
	wag	29

Responses mainly confined to Kcb--Cont'd.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Responses</u>	<u>Times given</u>
(84)	gliff	5
(88)	splint-new, split-new	37
(122)	nap	26
(141)	hankit	4
	burbled	64
(160)	clarts	20
(184)	* till	4
	* frush	25
(208)	* cutty	80

These lists demonstrate linguistic distribution areas. It can be said:

- i) more than 50 responses were given widely, straddling the region; these may be said to be non-localized words
- ii) more than 100 were given in small pockets - some across the region, some in Wgt only, some in Kcb only; these may be considered obsolescent words or 'words in a situation of retreat'⁶

The isogloss concept which The Linguistic Atlas defines as:

"...a line that surrounds an area in which a particular linguistically defined phenomenon (or set of phenomena) is found."⁷

was investigated for its usefulness in this linguistic and geographical situation. Careful sifting revealed that in 7 particular instances the use of the isogloss assists understanding. In these 7 instances pairs of

⁶Wakelin, M. F. English Dialects - An Introduction, (London: 1972), p. 71.

⁷The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland, Ibid. p. 8.

isoglosses contrast interestingly, viz. in the cases of:

- (35) essert/ersit
- (78) siege/set
- (79) * antic/worthy
- (88) * newance/splint-new
- (102) * flowins/flichens (with flechins, flickens, flithens,
flockens)
- (160) * tartle/clart (with clit, clad, clat)
- (208) * chitty/*cutty

(See maps pp. 333-336, in which, for greater clarity, I have shown:

- i) isoglosses surrounding the western phenomena with a continuous line and the eastern with a broken one
- ii) a few isolated instances, in cases where the total number for a given response is small (a single isolated response represents a significant proportion of the total when the total is small)

It is clearly evident that these differentiating phenomena contrast geographically. It is also comparatively easy to see how the isoglosses coincide or bundle along the eastern side of the Cree crossing. What is particularly interesting for this study is that the bundling area coincides with the boundary line referred to in Comparison I (i.e., the line drawn from Lake of Cree to upper Dee estuary) which was seen to be a lexical stopping-place of words, in the eastwards progress of the Irish.

There are also a few other instances in which the use of the isogloss may assist understanding of significant material, if not so clearly as in these 7 instances just described. Reporting on a particular geographical/political border Speitel⁸ distinguishes Types I, II and III. Type I is where one or more items occur on one side and one or more different items occur on the other side; Type II is where one or more non-differentiating items occur and one or more differentiating items occur

on one side; Type III is where one or more non-differentiating items occur and one or more differentiating items occur on both sides.

The 7 instances are examples of Type I. The 4 instances which follow are examples of Types II and III (2 each):

Type II (9) * dog confined to Wgt and *gaw mainly in Kcb but stretching across Wgt

(26) * feug, *flug, *clootie confined largely to Wgt and *corry stretching across the whole region

Type III (54) * brulie confined to Wgt and *carfuffle confined to Kcb but collyshangie and stramash found in both

(122) * cog and firkin almost confined to Wgt and nap almost confined to Kcb while tub is spread over both

(See maps pp. 337, 338.)

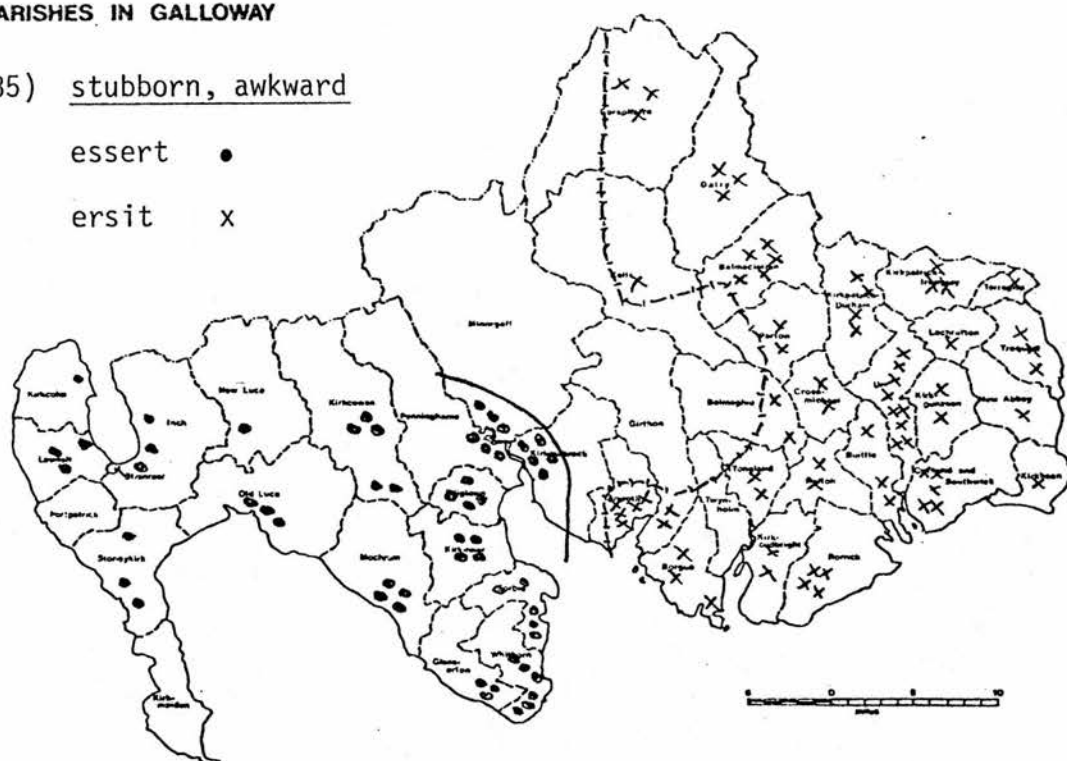
⁸Speitel, H. H. "An Areal Typology of Isoglosses - Isoglosses near the Scottish-English Border," Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, Wiesbaden, 1969 (revised version of a paper given to the Phil. Soc., October, 1967).

PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(35) stubborn, awkward

essert •

ersit x

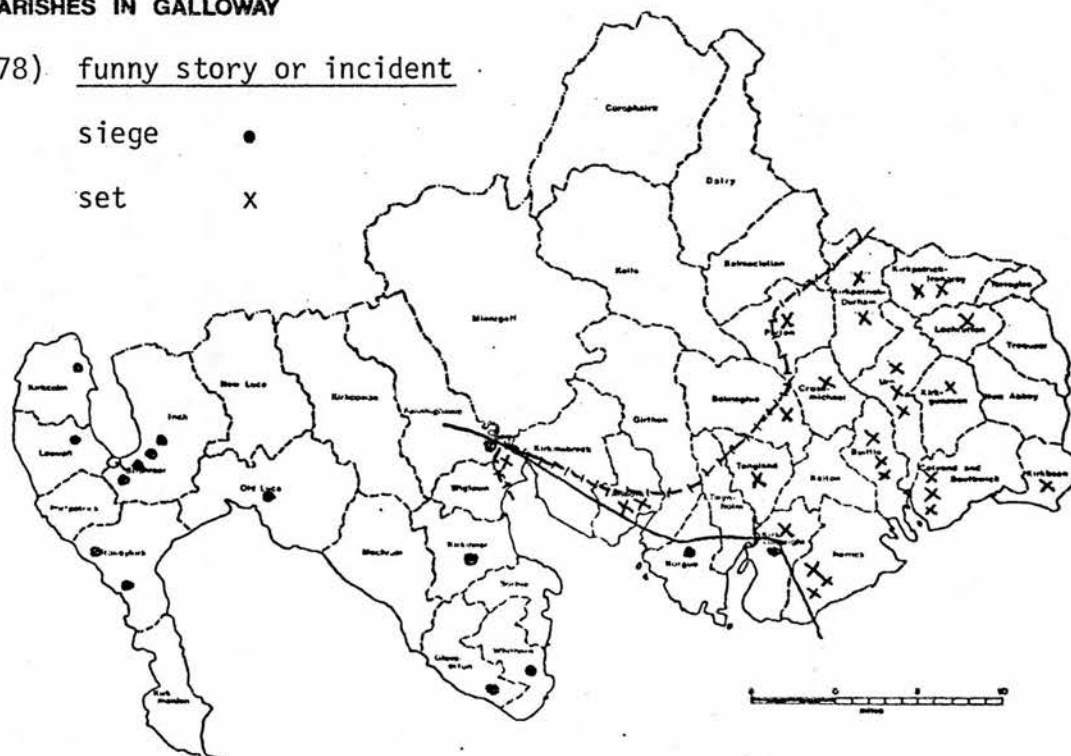


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(78) funny story or incident

siege •

set x

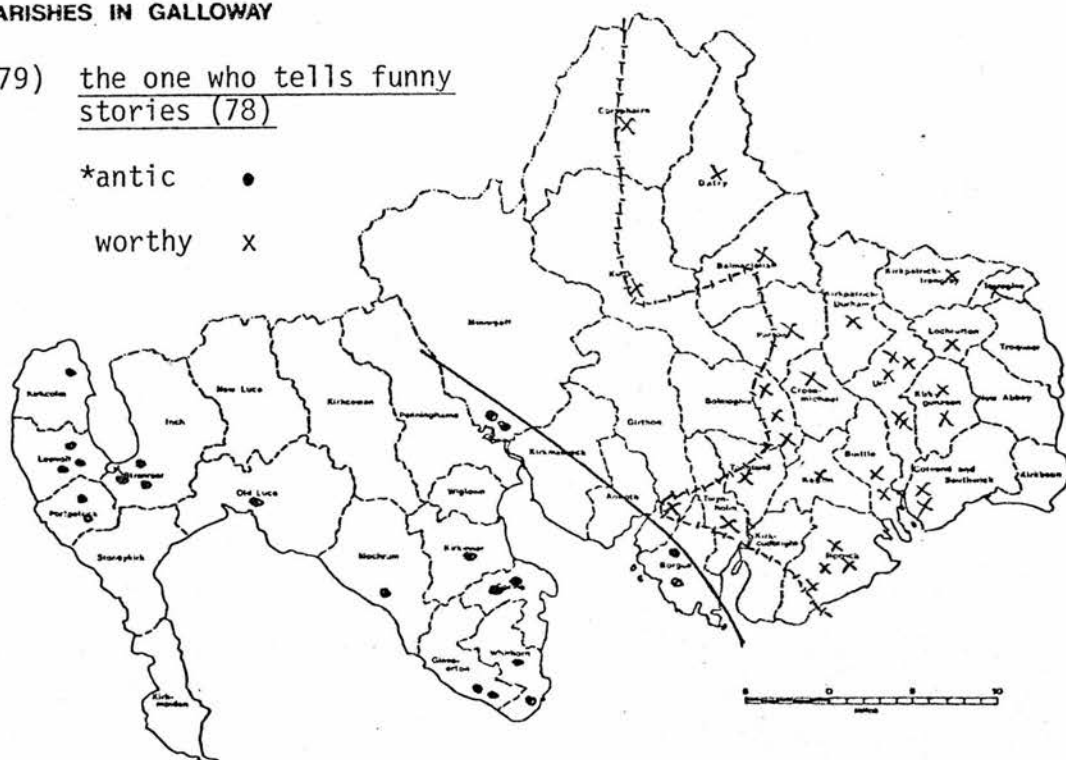


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(79) the one who tells funny stories (78)

*antic •

worthy x

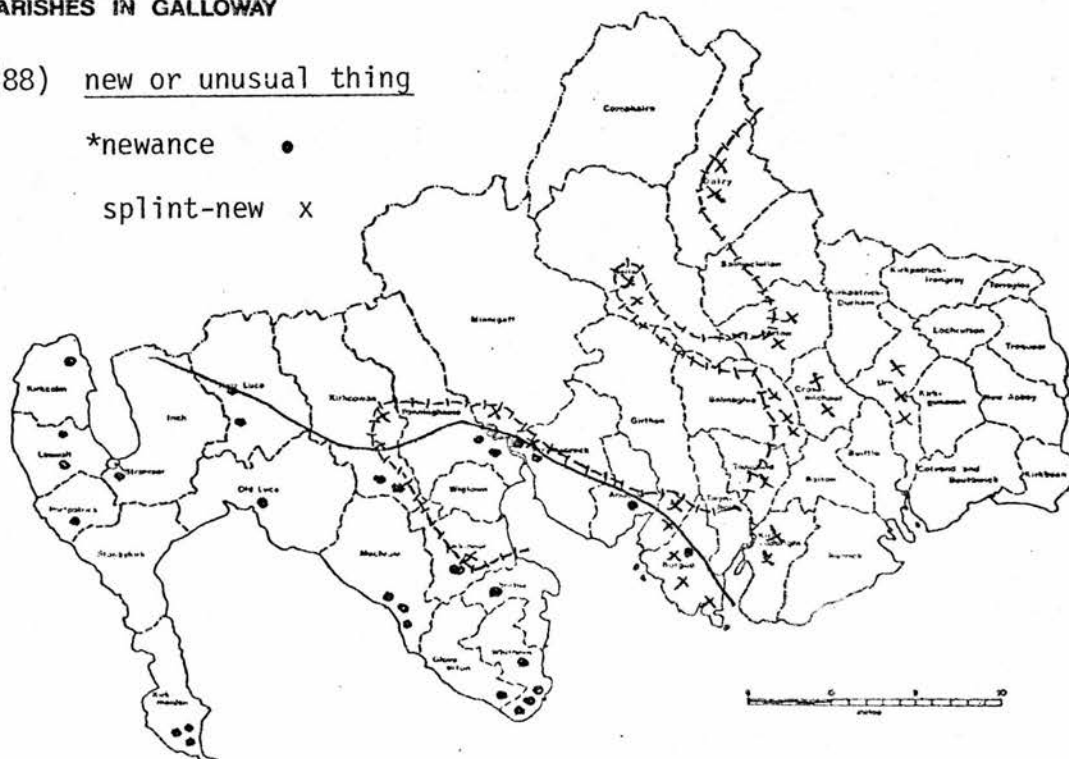


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(88) new or unusual thing

*newance •

splint-new x

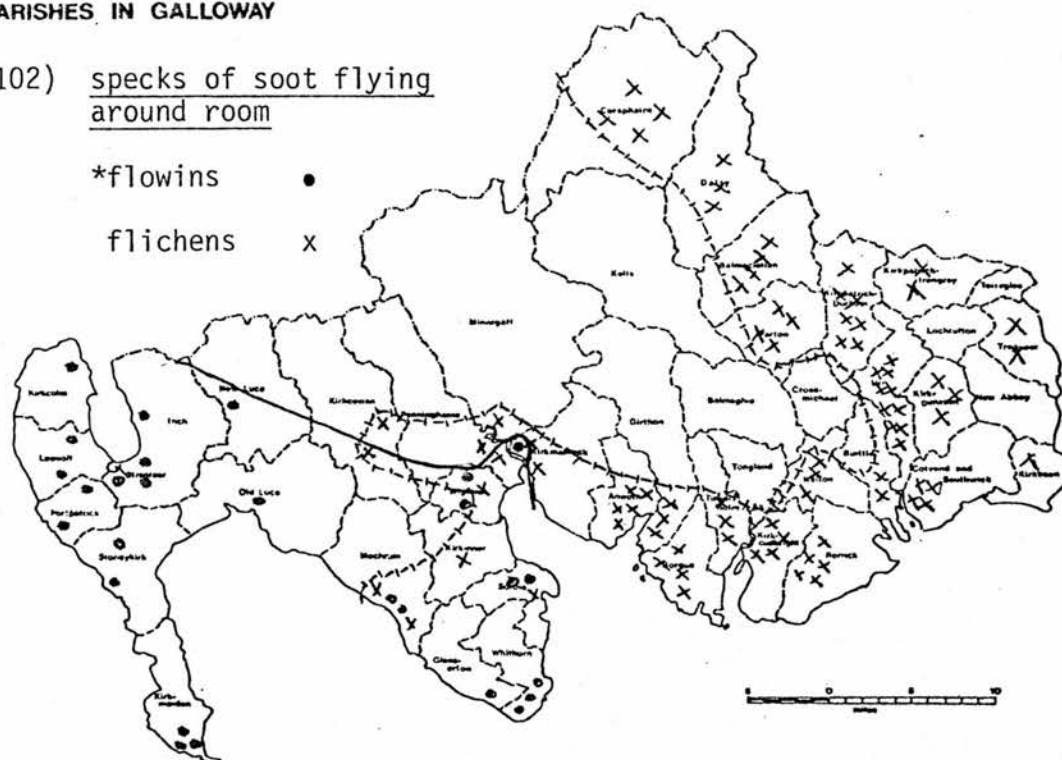


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(102) specks of soot flying
around room

*flowins •

flichens x

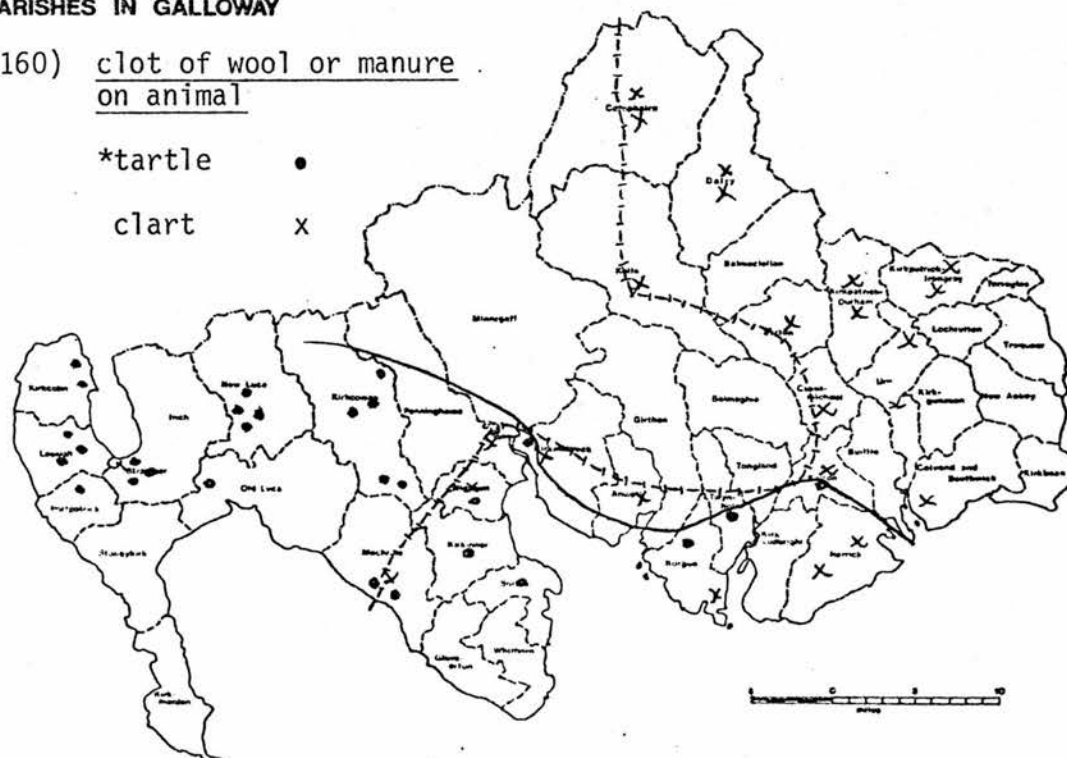


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(160) clot of wool or manure
on animal

*tartle •

clart x

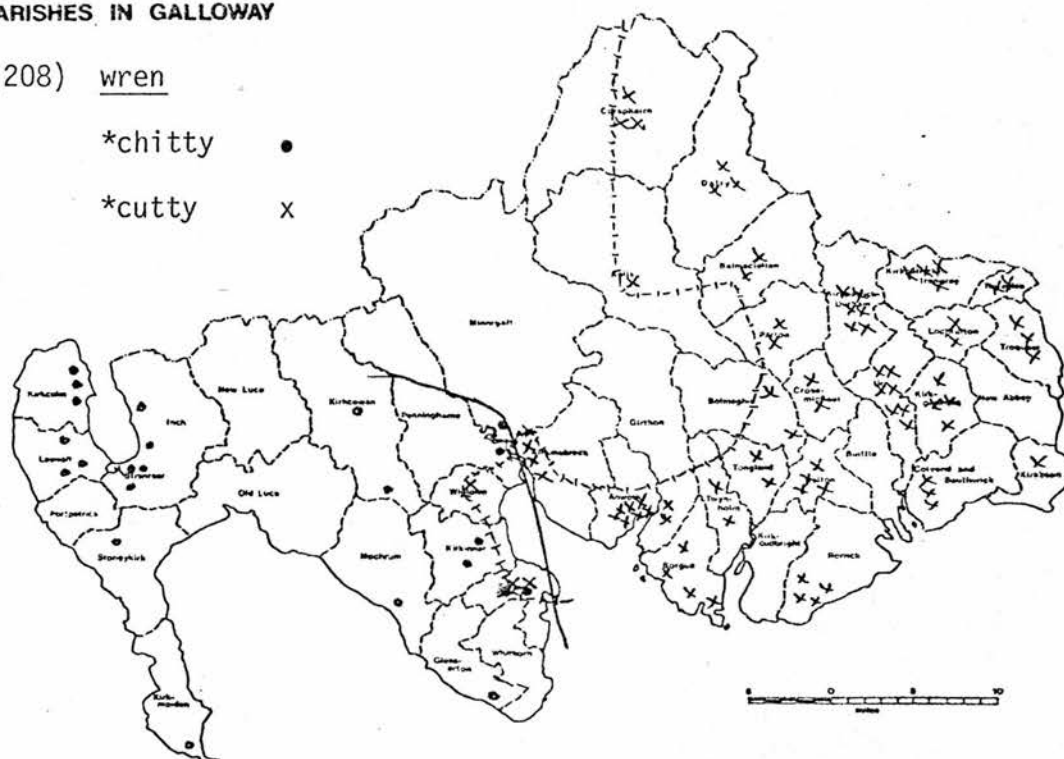


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(208) wren

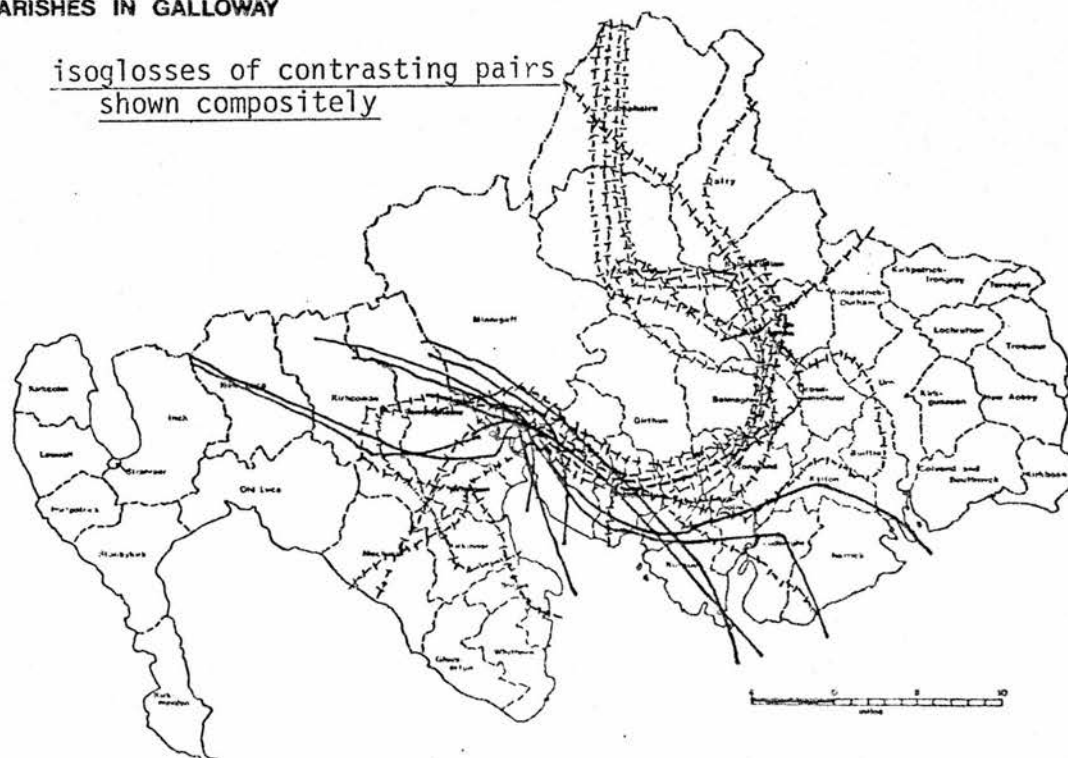
*chitty •

*cutty x



PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

isoglosses of contrasting pairs
shown compositely

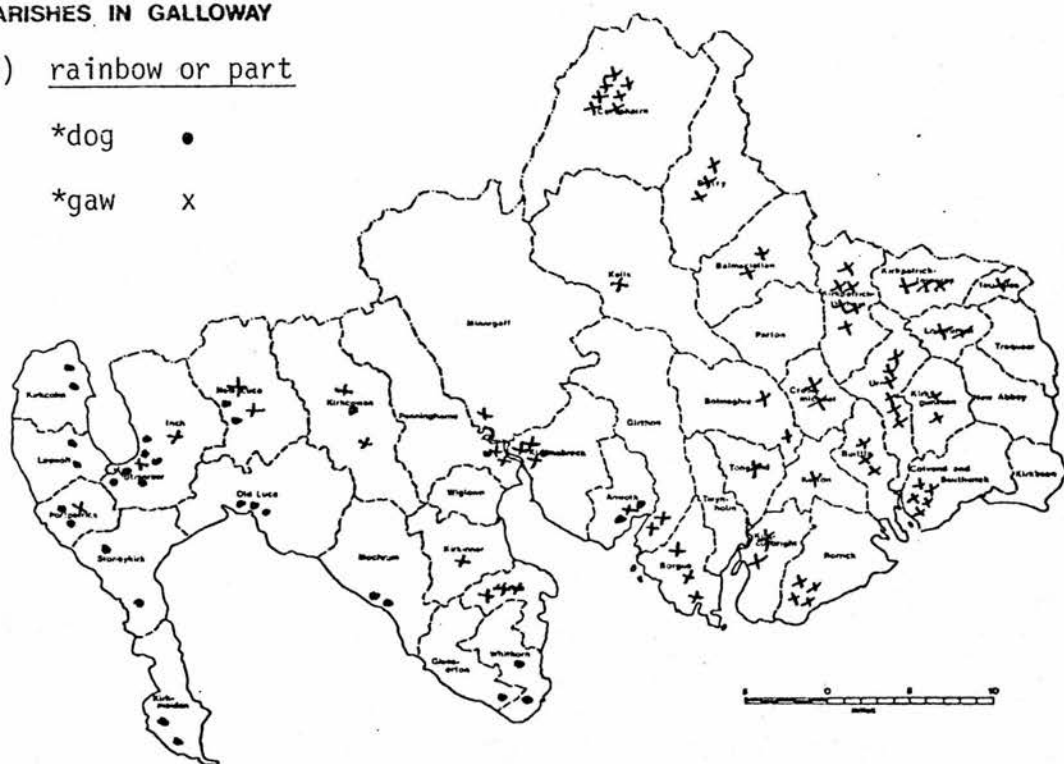


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(9) rainbow or part

*dog •

*gaw x

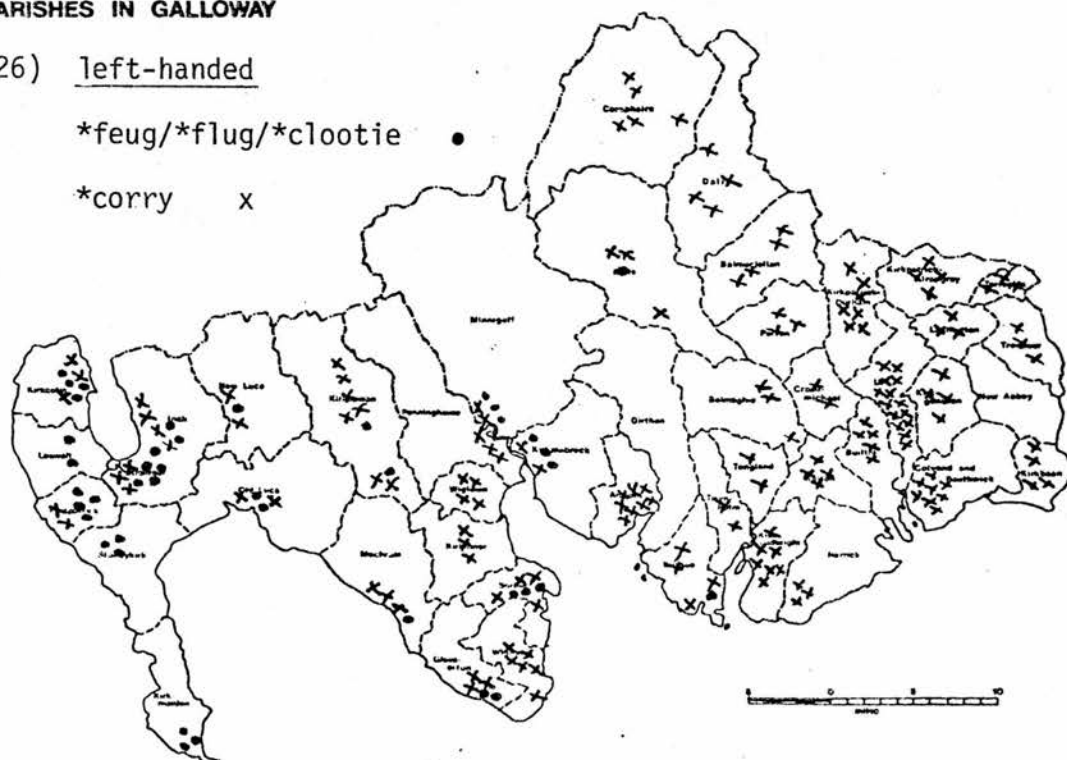


PARISHES IN GALLOWAY

(26) left-handed

*feug/*flug/*clootie •

*corry x



WORD NOTES

Wgt = Wigtownshire; Kcb = Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (in a few instances, words not included in the analysis but given in the Survey have been included for comparison)

- Items 1, 2, 5 These three items tended to form a homogeneous group, perhaps because 'coldness' is very compelling and it was the 'coldness' element which frequently seemed to predominate: seven
1. cold, dry, east wind responses - 'foonerin', 'snell', 'pisky',
2. cutting, north wind 'wutherin', 'birsy', 'blashy', 'step-mother's-
5. cold & harsh breath' were given emphasising the 'coldness' attribute. There was also a wide variety of terms referring to other attributes, e.g., 'bask' (dryness), 'gurly' (boisterousness), 'blear' (wet), 'coorse' (the wickedness of its nature).

- Item 9 The usual response in Wgt was one of several
- rainbow or 'dog' words - 'dog', 'water-dog', 'sun-dog',
- part of 'dog-end', 'watch-dog', 'weather-dog'. In Kcb it was usually either 'gaw' with variants 'water-gaw', 'weather-gaw' or 'gall' with 'water-gall', 'weather-gall'. There was a small amount of 'dog-response' in Kcb and of 'gaw' in Wgt but there was no 'gall' in Wgt.

Both Irish Word Lists and SND give these words as referring to 'part-of' the rainbow but our informants were generally happy for their words to be used for the whole.

Item 15

unusually
fat or lazy
person

Having two attributes together (as 'fat' & 'lazy') sometimes caused difficulty and probably should be avoided in questionnaire-making. Although the attributes had seemed complementary, informants sometimes found that they would have preferred two words to describe them, e.g. 26A gave 'sonsy' but said it was for 'fat' not for 'lazy', and 13D gave 'thouless' for 'lazy' but 'not necessarily fat'. We had the impression that the informants were feeling around for a word which expressed something rather unpleasant and, because 'feeling-around', came up with thirty different responses, the most-frequently-given being 'brosey' which Traynor refers to as 'fat or lazy'; however, 18C said 'brosey' was really 'fat or red': 'slob' was given 6 times (twice in Wgt and four times in Kcb) to cover both attributes.

The same difficulty occurred in connection with two other items:

35. 'stubborn, awkward' - it was said that a left-handed person, for example, might look 'awkward' in a

physical sense but might also be flexible and accommodating as a person.

184. 'easily-crumbled, stonysoil' - a few purists (and there were such among our informants) wanted to distinguish between the two attributes and to be told how large were the stones being thought of; however, the majority did not find difficulty in putting both together and gave us a dozen terms for the double description: Scots is rich in descriptive terms.

Item 20

silent
woman

The commonest response across the region was 'stooky'; 'stum' was mainly Wgt, while 'blate', 'quate' and 'mim-mooth' were mainly Kcb. Informants were sometimes uncertain about the aptness of 'mim-mooth' for 'silent', reflecting both Irish Word Lists and SND in equating 'mim-mooth' with 'primness' but it was given frequently nevertheless (EDD gives 'mim-mouthed' as 'reticent, shy at speaking out'). (SND gives 'stookie' as 'a derivative of stucco or plaster of paris, a slow-witted, dull or shy person, a blockhead, a stick').

Item 21

slatternly
woman

30 different names were given to describe this type of female, the most-often-given being 'clart'; 'slut' was very common but, of course, has wide reference; however, 'scut', one of our 'Irish-reference-only' words, was

confined to Wgt and 'brock' was even confined to the Rhinns but may be considered slang as the same response was given widely for 'small waste potatoes given to pigs'.

Item 26

lefthanded

I have grouped the responses to this item in three of Braidwood's² categories viz. 'fjuggy' (feug-fisted, feugie-fisted, fluggy, fluggy-fisted, flug-fisted, flog-fisted); 'clootie' (clootie and clootie-fisted); 'corry' (car, car-handed, kerrhanded, carcleugh, kerry, cahanded, carrahanded, corry, carry, corrymick, carriefisted, corriefisted, cooriefisted, curryfisted, carryhanded, corryhanded).

The evidence for the presence of the 'fjuggy' category in Galloway is strong especially in Wgt (34 responses in this Survey in Wgt and 6 in Kcb, all located just across the Cree). One of Braidwood's theories that this is an archaic Scots feature is thus supported with new evidence. His other theory that this is a term of Ulster provenance seems less likely but because, as he says, it has maintained itself sporadically in the Ulster Scots area, we may reasonably say that it crossed to Ireland and may well have crossed back again to Scotland.

²Braidwood, J., *Terms for Lefthanded in the Ulster Dialects*, *Ulster Folk Life*, vol. 18.

There were 3 instances only of 'cloodie' (2 in Wgt and 1 in Kcb - Borgue; another instance did actually occur in Kirkcolm, though not from a regular informant but from a young woman who said she came from Ireland). Braidwood says that 'cloodie' occurs substantially for a lefthanded person in Antrim and Down.

There is considerable evidence of the presence of the 'corry' category in Galloway - much more in Kcb but substantially present in Wgt. Braidwood records two instances only of 'corry' in Ulster - Derry and Donegal. Unlike 'fjuggy' this category did not take root in Ireland and Braidwood suggests that it may have been taken there by returning Irish seasonal workers in the eighteenth century rather than by Scots in the seventeenth.

The 'fjuggy' and 'cloodie' categories were found mainly in Wgt and the 'corry' category stretched all the way across but it is interesting to know that there were 26 instances when more than one response was given, the most striking instances being Kirkcolm 1A, Kirkinner 15B and Minnigaff 18C, where several informants were present and gave 5, 4 and 6 different responses respectively. Braidwood makes a similar point - 'Though the different terms tend to form geographical patterns of distribution according to their origins, they are not

altogether mutually exclusive.'

This is an item in which there is a wealth of descriptive terms. In addition to the 3 categories above with all their variants we were given 9 other terms (plugfisted, peugfisted, speug, kegyhaun'd, cackhanded, clubfisted, kappie, kippy, wranghandit).

Item 31

all dressed
up for an
occasion

What is slang, and what is not, is sometimes rather difficult to determine. This item seemed to attract slang-type responses. A common response, across the region included the term 'flea hyeuk', the most frequently given being 'dressed up like a flea hyeuk'. An interesting comparison occurs between 'done up to the nines' - which in this Survey was mainly Kcb but also has a wider reference - and 'done up to the ninety-nines' for which I have been able to find Irish reference only and which was given to us preponderantly in Wgt.

The same slang/not-slang problem appeared also with regard to responses for 'well-to-do' (Item 32); 'bettermos' (Kcb only) is interesting in combining comparative and superlative forms; 'warm' and 'bien' were found in both major sub-areas, although more so in Wgt; 'weel', an interesting parallel surely with 'bien', was also strung across the region and was combined with

16 other descriptive terms (-feekit, -theekit, -aff, -gethert, -faured, -lined, -creeshed, -shod, -dain, -tae dae, -tochered, -munted-, -pit on, -pit oot, -set up, -heeled, -got up).

The responses for Item 87 were largely slang-type and 15 such were given. The non-slang term most often given was 'guid' with nine variables, including 'unco' and 'forbye'; 'rumdinger' might be thought of as a variable of 'humdinger' (U.S. slang) but it is interesting to note that it was given in Wgt only and that Traynor gives it as being found in Donegal.

Item 34

impertinent
in an
inquisitive
way

The variety of synonyms in Scots is considerable; I found this to be eminently so. I noted that there were shades of meaning which might be produced in different circumstances. Mather³ comments on this phenomenon - "... a given Scotsman will not always give equal value and on equal occasions to the many synonyms at his disposal." As I was asking-in-vacuo, I was given synonyms together but as if our informants were saying 'we have this word and this word.....' or one informant would give one response, his neighbour another, a third informant would repeat the first response and so on. The result, of course, is that it

³Mather, J.Y., "The Scots We Speak Today," Lowland Scots, Occas. Papers, No. 2, Assoc. for Lit. Studies, 1973, p. 61.

is sometimes difficult to disentangle the collection of synonyms and say 'such and such a word is the word for this parish or area'. The responses for Item 34 were of this order.

Several varieties of the one root word might also be given, e.g. 'forwardsom', 'firretsom', 'forritsom', 'furritsom', 'foridsom'. An Irish form of 'impudent' - 'imperent' (and one of my Irish-reference-only words) was found in Wgt and in the Machars particularly.

Item 35

stubborn,
awkward

In Wgt I quickly found I was regularly being given 'essert' as a response to this item; when we crossed into Kcb I equally quickly found I was being given words like 'thrawn' and 'dour'. The sudden change was so obvious that I had to enquire 'do you know essert?' I discovered that the Kcb word was really 'ersit' and that there was reluctance to produce it because of its obvious relationship. In Wgt the relationship was apparently not realised - certainly not by elderly spinster ladies, and looking back, I thought generally. The SND reference may be quoted, viz. - "ersit adj. stubborn, perverse (Kcb corresp 1950, Gall 1901 Trotter's Galloway Gossip "the ersit cuddy"....A diff. phon. development has produced 'essert', only Kcb. No reference was found in Irish Word Lists but

Informant 14D produced gratuitously 'essert as the pigs of Drogheda' which may support an Irish connection.

Item 47

reduction
in swelling

The basic thought involved when selecting this item was reduction in swelling in an injured limb; we soon found, however, that the most frequent assumption on the part of our informants was the need of the belly to subside after a large meal; it was more in that sense that I was given 'swamp', which was regularly given in both sub-areas: 3 instances may be cited - 11A 'belly, only after a big feed', 'after a meal, not of ankle swelling', 28A 'after a meal, also of a leg'. Hart comments on the word 'swamp' - "Lean, reduced in size. Usually applied to a reduced swelling. The word is used in Derry and throughout Donegal".

Item 53

abuse and
counter-
abuse

References to 'snash' are found in Lutton, Traynor, S.N.D. and E.D.D. and 'hash' references are Pratt, Traynor, S.N.D. and E.D.D. but 'back-snash' I have found in Traynor only: 'back-snash' was given alone, with 'hash' ('hash & back-snash') and with 'snash' ('snash & back-snash'): the question which produced these responses was 'abuse & counter-abuse', so the 'back' element would be expected but has apparently an Irish setting only.

Item 58

to work at
odd jobs

The Wgt words were 'skiddlin', in the Rhinns, and varieties of 'plowterin' in the Machars; 'plowterin' varieties predominated in Kcb with 'plitterin' being the oftenest-given; 'skiddlin' was given 6 times in Kcb.

Item 64

stop,
cease

Twenty different responses were given with much-related shades of meaning, e.g.

in parish 18 - 'drap' was given for ploughmen stopping work

" " 22 - it was the rain that 'drapped'

" " 20 - the rain 'halted'

" " 16 - it 'lowsed'

" " 22 - it was animals that were 'lowsed', the
rain devalved

" " 24 - the rain 'devalled' as did children's
voices; informant 35A contributed the
information that 'devall is always heard
in the negative.

Item 71

to poke

Twenty-eight responses were given with related shades of meaning, e.g. you 'proddle' a drain 4D, a burn 6B, a hole 11C, 14E; you 'ripe' a drain 36E, the ribs of a grate 10A, your pooches 10A, your pipe 34C; you 'prod' a beast 15D or a fire 20G; you 'proggie' a drain 16E or make a hole bigger 31F; you 'pooter' the fire 20D or 'proitle' in a ditch 15B; you 'jag' in a ditch 10D; you 'pork' a beast 33B or 'amang stanes for rats' 32B or

'yin anither' 37I; you 'rod' the drain 33G; you 'risle' the fire 23D.

'powter', given in the Machars only, may be mentioned because it was also given in the Machars only, as a response to Item 58 above, 'to work at odd jobs'; this may be cited as an instance of the phenomenon noted by McIntosh⁴ viz. "... the meaning of the word may not be identical everywhere, though if it is not, the investigator will have to satisfy himself somehow that it once was...."; 'to work at odd jobs' and 'to poke' may at first sight not seem the same but closer viewing shows that the meaning is related and that the former probably stemmed from the latter.

Item 74

to go for
a ride on
a vehicle

Clearly 'sail' is the Wgt word and 'hurl' the Kcb one; 'sail on a kert' was the traditional expression in Wgt and it seems no less improbable to 'sail on a byke' or 'sail in a car' today.

Items 78, 79

funny story
or incident

the one who
tells such

These two items may be taken together. It might have been better if only 'the story' or if only 'the incident' had been used but it seemed that the responses generally covered both, with emphasis perhaps on the 'doing' rather than the 'telling'. 17 responses were given for 78 of which the commonest

⁴McIntosh, A., An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects (Edinburgh: 1952), p. 42.

were 'pant', 'siege', 'set', 'guid yin'; there were shades of intensity, e.g. 'pant' was more than a joke 19D, a mischievous trick 30B, but harmless 15A; a 'siege' was 'an uproarious occasion' 30B.

II responses were given for 79 of which the commonest were 'antic', 'wag', 'kyo', 'worthy'; 'antic' and 'kyo' are the Wgt words and while there was the sense of both being 'doers', it was quite clear that both could be 'tellers' also; 'wag' and 'worthy' were primarily tellers, though 26A said the worthy would 'do' eccentric things; 'worthy' provided a variety of definitions e.g. 'told funny stories of the past' 22B, 'would cam oot wi' things' 38B.

Items 83, 101,
169

kiss given
to cele-
brate
something
new

Is it to
your
satisfac-
tion

to dress a
millstone

These three items were included to ascertain if particular responses might be forthcoming viz. 83 'baiverage', 101 'pleasement', 169 'pick' and they were: 'baiverage' refers to an old custom - (SND refers to McTaggart 1824, Trotter 1901 and says "a fine in the form of money or drink demanded of anyone wearing a new suit or article of clothing; it is now most commonly used of the kiss taken from a girl by her friend or friends or given by her on the occasion of her wearing something new; mostly in the phrase give, get, have, take-the beverage"); 'baiveraige' was given, but

8 times only, equally in the two sub-areas:

'pleasement' has Irish reference only and was confined to Wgt; the Kcb response was the conventional Scots 'likin':

'pick' refers to the process, very common formerly, in which the miller dressed or sharpened his grinding stones to make them more serviceable; this was done by chipping with a pointed file-like instrument and a mallet; the process was known as 'picking'; this response was given 11 times (3/8).

Picking mill-stones is not needed today and one would expect the usage to be passing out of memory but, as our informants were all in the upper age bracket, I would have expected the term to be remembered better; the practice of 'giving the baiverage' would also seem to be fading from memory and the word obsolescent:

'pleasement' is an Irish-reference-only term; it was given us (19/1) and the Kcb instance was just over the Cree in Kirkmabreck; it is a fair assumption that the expression was brought from Ireland but did not enter into Kcb: if a questionnaire were given to the youth of Galloway it might be revealing as to how many of the words that were applied to older processes and customs would be given; Speitel's⁵ note, with regard to the

⁵Speitel, H.H., Dialect, Problems of Language & Learning, Ed. Alan Davies, (London: 1975), p. 35.

dialect in the Lothians, bears out this thought.

It is convenient to speak also of three other items:

122. 'a wooden butter container': butter is made at creameries now-a-days, so the wooden butter containers which were widely used formerly are no longer required; we were given 18 different words for this item which may indicate that informants were striving to remember:

152., 153.: bringing in the hay and the grain marked big occasions in the farming year until quite recently and called for specific words to distinguish different processes: we were given a large number of words and we learned a lot about who did this or that: today, with the change-over to dairy-farming and artificial winter-feeding, in Galloway, the old harvest customs are no more and the words that went with them are not required. It is convenient to remark here again, in the matter of choosing concrete nouns for dialect questionnaires, that many objects or processes only have standard name-words. A case in point is the word 'hiplock' which we were given frequently, across the region for Item 160 'clot of wool or manure on an animal'. This we learned is the name bestowed on the unpleasant object by the Wool Matching Board and is apparently gradually replacing the traditional regional

or local words used formerly. Mather⁶ makes a general comment on this situation viz.

the history of new things in Scotland - whether these are pheasants or motor cars ... or the manifold products of Scottish Agricultural Industries, will tend to have an undifferentiated and standard vocabulary....

States of mind and personal feelings may be as they ever were, even if they are aroused by different stimuli or circumstances, and the appropriate dialect words may still be produced to express them because they are best expressed by them. To be able to use a native word gives great satisfaction to a Scotsman especially when he feels he is using it to someone who understands. I do not think it is too much to say that where dialect words are still serviceable they will continue to be used.

Item 141

entangled

There were 24 alternative responses given, including 'fangled', 'fankled', 'burbled', 'snibbled', 'twirpled', 'tochled', 'trauchled', 'snarled', 'machled', 'hankit', 'thrumpled', 'warpled' - the commonest being the first three mentioned; 'fankled' was equally spread across the region while 'fangled' was found oftenest in Wgt and 'burbled' in Kcb. I should say that there was

⁶Mather, J.Y., op. cit.

never any doubt as to whether we were being given 'fangled' of 'fankled' because in Galloway speech the former is clearly [faŋld], while the latter is just as clearly [faŋklt].

Item 160

clot of wool
or manure on
an animal

The Wgt word was 'tartle' and the Kcb one was 'clart'; however, 'tattle' appeared in both sub-areas and 'clat' also, but to a small extent and mainly in Kcb. One might be inclined to regard these latter two as reduced forms of the former two with the (r) dropped but this I find difficult to accept as a Scotsman does not usually drop his (r); I note that Traynor gives 'tatt', a tangled lock so there is the possibility of Irish influence in the reduced forms.

Item 184

easily
crumbled,
stony soil

I have made mention of this item already but there are two further points that may be made. Where the informant is a professional we will not usually fail to get a word from him; among farmers, it would be for different kinds of soil or methods of tilling, among fishermen it would be fish names, methods of catching them; among shepherds it would be sheep, their wool and shearing. When one is asking information from a non-professional one may get an accurate word or one may not (by 'accurate' I mean the word the professional would use). In some cases we were given no response at all

which usually meant that only the standard word was known (i.e. standard English as spoken in Scotland, cf. Speitel⁷). In line with our policy I did not press and passed on to the next item. Looking back, I find that in the town of Whithorn, I was given no word for 'easily crumbled, stony soil' whereas in the landward area of Glassertown, adjoining, I was given several responses.

Items 208, 215 I found that bird names had to be treated with caution
 wren, tern and I carried round a set of bird pictures so that I was able to point to a picture and say 'What is your word for that bird?' (I did the same for fish). There was then no doubt as to what bird was being spoken of. For the wren there was a clear-cut division between Wgt and Kcb - 'chitty' in the former and 'cutty' in the latter; for tern 'pirr-maw' was given west of the Minnigaff/Dee estuary line only.

⁷Speitel, H.H., op. cit.

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Alphabetical Index of Dialect Words

Which Appear on Maps

(Item No. = Questionnaire No.; * Indicates Irish Reference)

<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
* antic	(79)	256, 266, 327, 331, 334, 351
* back-snash (incl. snash & back-snash, hash & back snash)	(53)	285, 298, 348
* baiverage	(83)	270, 281, 326, 351
bar	(78)	270, 280, 325, 329
bask	(1,2,5)	285, 289, 340
bettermos	(32)	269, 275, 324, 329, 345
bien	(32)	269, 275, 345
* birsy (incl. birselen)	(5)	256, 258, 340
* blashy	(5)	285, 289, 340
* blae	(5)	256, 258
* blate	(20)	269, 272, 324, 329, 342
* blatterin	(8)	242, 243, 324, 328
* blear	(5)	256, 258, 323, 340
black (incl. black-east)	(1)	238, 239, 323, 327
brainge	(80)	286, 306, 323
* brock	(21)	238, 239, 324, 328, 343
* brosey	(15)	269, 272, 341
* bruckle	(184)	270, 284, 326
* brulie	(54)	238, 240, 325, 327, 332, 338
burbled (incl. in a burble, burpled)	(141)	287, 312, 330, 354
* buskit	(31)	285, 293, 324
* carfuffle	(54)	299, 325, 329, 332, 338
* carnapshus	(36)	256, 261
cat-wuttit (incl. cat-wurrit)	(36)	269, 276, 329

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<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
* channery	(184)	270, 284, 323
* chitty	(208)	246, 255, 328, 331, 336, 337, 356
* clootie	(26)	246, 249, 324, 327, 332, 337, 343, 344
* clackin	(51)	285, 298
* clart	(21)	285, 292
* clash	(77)	286, 303, 323
clarts (incl. clauts, clits, clads, clats)	(160)	270, 283, 330, 331, 335, 336, 342, 355
collyshangie	(54)	285, 299, 325, 332
* cog	(122)	257, 267, 326, 328, 332, 338
* coorse	(5)	269, 271, 323, 329, 340
* corry (incl. varieties, see Word Notes)	(26)	292, 332, 337, 343, 344
* cutty	(208)	287, 313, 330, 331, 336, 356
cyanglin	(53)	285, 299, 325, 329
daffin	(56)	285, 300, 325, 329
* darkenin	(12)	285, 291
* deval (incl. devar, devalve)	(64)	270, 280, 323, 349
* dog (incl. varieties, see Word Notes)	(9)	246, 247, 327, 332, 337, 340
dish o' fish (dressed up like)	(31)	285, 293, 324
* doch	(42)	256, 262, 328
* dindle	(43)	242, 244, 324, 328
* dinglin	(43)	285, 297
* dirlin	(43)	285, 297
* dofe	(42)	269, 277
* dour	(35)	285, 295, 347

Alphabetical Index Cont'd.

<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
drag	(22)	269, 274
* drawn-image	(92)	286, 308, 323
* drochy	(7)	256, 258, 324, 328
drumlie	(6)	242, 243, 324, 327
dumpy-fitted	(40)	285, 296, 324, 329
ersit	(35)	285, 296, 329, 331, 333, 347
essert	(35)	246, 249, 327, 331, 333, 347, 348
* faggot	(22)	269, 274, 324
* fangled (incl. in a fangle)	(141)	270, 282, 326, 354
* fanked (incl. in a fankle, fanked)	(141)	287, 312, 323, 354
* feart	(84)	286, 307, 326
* fearsom	(84)	286, 307
* feug-fisted	(26)	246, 249, 324, 327, 332, 337, 343, 344
firkin	(122)	286, 312, 326, 332, 338
flea-hyeuk (dressed-up like, buskit-up like, rigged-oot like, got-up like)	(31)	285, 294, 345
flichens (incl. flickens, fleckins, flechins, flithens, flockens)	(102)	286, 310, 323, 331, 338
* flichters (incl. flechters, flickters)	(102)	286, 310, 323
* flowins	(102)	246, 253, 327, 331, 335
* flug	(26)	246, 248, 327, 332, 337
* flysom (incl. fleysom, fleesom)	(84)	286, 307, 323
* foonerin	(1,2,5)	285, 288, 340
forritsom (incl. firetsom, furritsom, foridsom, forwardsom)	(34)	269, 275, 329, 347

Alphabetical Index Cont'd.

<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
* frush	(184)	270, 284, 330
* gabbin	(51)	285, 298
gablin	(51)	269, 278
* gaffer	(51)	242, 244, 325, 328
* gakin aroon	(56)	270, 278, 325, 329
* gall (incl. weather-gall, water-gall)	(9)	269, 271, 329, 340
* gaw (incl. weather-gaw, water-gaw)	(9)	285, 290, 332, 337, 340
gliff	(84)	286, 307, 326, 330
* glowerin	(6)	269, 271, 324, 327
grey-east (incl. grey- easterly, grey-easterlin)	(1)	238, 239, 323, 328
* gruesome	(84)	257, 266, 326
guid-yin	(84)	270, 280, 351
* hanfu'	(22)	269, 274, 324
hankit	(141)	259, 268, 326, 330, 354
haud-back	(22)	269, 274, 329
hinnerance	(22)	269, 274, 324
howk	(71)	286, 302, 325, 329
hudderie	(21)	269, 273, 324
hudderie-dudderie	(21)	269, 273, 324
huggery	(21)	246, 248, 328
hurl	(74)	286, 303, 350
* imperent	(34)	256, 261, 347
* jag	(71)	246, 251, 325, 349
* jab	(71)	270, 280, 325
* keehowin	(56)	270, 278
* keos (cuttin)	(56)	270, 278, 325, 329
* kiawies (cuttin)	(56)	256, 262, 325, 329
kiyachin	(56)	256, 262, 325, 329
* kyo	(79)	270, 281, 323, 351

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<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
kyo	(78)	256, 265, 325
* lowse	(64)	285, 301, 323, 349
mim-mooth	(20)	285, 291, 329, 342
mools (incl. mills, mooly, milly, meally)	(184)	287, 313, 326
musky	(6)	242, 243, 324, 327
nap (incl. nappy)	(122)	286, 311, 323, 330, 332, 338
* nebbby (incl. nebbit, nebbin)	(34)	285, 294
* newance	(88)	257, 267, 331, 334
nines (done up to)	(31)	285, 293, 345
* ninety-nines (done up to)	(31)	285, 293, 345
nyatterin	(51)	269, 278
overcastin	(6)	269, 271
* oxter-cog	(57)	246, 250, 327
* painful	(37)	246, 250, 328
pant	(78)	286, 304, 323, 351
* pick	(169)	270, 283, 326, 351, 352
* pirr-maw (incl. pirr-gull)	(215)	246, 255, 326, 328, 356
pisky	(1,2,5)	246, 247, 323, 328, 340
* plaister	(22)	256, 260, 324
* pleasement	(101)	246, 253, 351, 352
plitterin (incl. plutterin, plooterin)	(58)	285, 301, 323, 349
ploiterin	(58)	270, 279, 325
* plowterin	(58)	270, 279, 325, 349
* plumpin	(8)	256, 259, 324, 328
* polterin	(58)	238, 240, 325, 327
pork	(71)	286, 302, 325, 329, 349
* powterin	(58)	238, 240, 328, 350
* powterin	(71)	238, 241, 328, 350

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<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
poyterin (incl. pooterin)	(58)	270, 279, 349
pringlin	(43)	269, 277, 324
prinklin	(43)	256, 262, 324
prockle	(71)	246, 251, 325, 328
* prod	(71)	285, 302, 349
* proddle	(71)	256, 264, 327, 349
* prog (incl. proggie)	(71)	256, 264, 349
proitle (incl. prottle)	(71)	238, 241, 325, 327, 349
* quit	(64)	256, 263, 325
* quat	(64)	256, 263, 325
* quate	(20)	269, 272, 342
* ramstam	(80)	286, 306, 323
* reel-fittet	(40)	269, 276
ripe	(71)	286, 302, 323, 349
* rumdinger	(87)	238, 241, 326, 328, 346
* sail	(74)	246, 252, 327, 350
* scarr (incl. alt. endings)	(84)	246, 252
* scarr	(192)	246, 254
* scart	(34)	256, 261, 328
* scraw	(147)	246, 254, 327
* scut	(21)	238, 239, 324, 327, 342
scutch	(152)	287, 312, 323
siege	(78)	256, 265, 327, 331, 333, 351
set	(78)	286, 304, 329, 331, 333, 351
* skiddlin	(58)	270, 279, 323, 349
skivin	(56)	256, 263, 325, 329
* slake	(153)	257, 268, 326
* slaister	(21)	269, 273, 324, 329
* slitter	(21)	269, 273, 324
* slob	(15)	285, 291, 324, 341

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<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
* smirr	(7)	285, 290
* snashie	(34)	238, 240, 324, 328
* sough	(77)	256, 265, 325
* speirin	(34)	285, 295
* spit (incl. leevin-spit, very-spit, deid-spit)	(92)	286, 309, 323
spit-image	(92)	257, 267, 326
spittin-image	(92)	286, 309, 323
splint-new	(88)	286, 308, 330, 331, 334
splinter-new (incl. splinterin-new, splinnerin-new)	(88)	242, 245, 326, 327
split-new	(88)	286, 308, 330
* stamsteery	(80)	286, 305, 326
stam varieties (incl. ram- stammle, rammin & stammin, stam-jam, cam-stam)	(80)	286, 305, 326, 328
steer	(71)	286, 302, 323
steer varieties (incl. ram- steery, cam-steery, in a steer)	(80)	286, 305
* step-mother's breath	(1,2,5)	285, 288, 340
* sturdies (takin the)	(35)	269, 276, 324, 329
stooky	(20)	285, 291, 342
stramash	(54)	285, 300, 332, 338
* stum	(20)	246, 248, 328, 342
stumpy	(40)	285, 296, 324, 329
styoochin (incl. styooked)	(102)	242, 245, 326, 328
* swampit	(47)	269, 277, 348
taigled	(141)	287, 312, 326
* tartle	(160)	287, 313, 328, 331, 335, 355
tear	(78)	286, 304, 329
* terge	(22)	269, 274, 324

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<u>Words</u>	<u>Item No.</u>	<u>Page</u>
* through-ither	(21)	285, 292
* till	(184)	270, 284, 326, 330
took	(78)	256, 265, 325
tub	(122)	286, 311, 323, 332, 338
tudderie (incl. dudderie)	(21)	256, 259, 324
* unco	(88)	270, 282, 326, 346
very-image	(92)	286, 309, 326
wag	(79)	286, 305, 329, 351
warpled	(141)	257, 268, 326, 354
* warm	(32)	256, 260, 324, 345
* water-dog	(9)	269, 271, 328, 340
* wheeble	(66)	256, 264, 325
wheegle (incl. whiggle)	(66)	246, 251, 325, 327
worthy	(79)	286, 305, 329, 331, 334, 351
wutherin	(1,2,5)	285, 288, 340
yatterin	(51)	285, 298, 325, 329
nyatterin	(51)	278, 325
yitterin	(51)	269, 278, 325
nyitterin	(51)	269, 278, 325

55 Selected Items
With Reference to Maps

<u>Item</u>	<u>Page</u>
(1) cold, dry, east wind	239, 247, 288, 289, 340
(2) cutting north wind	247, 288, 289, 340
(5) cold and harsh	247, 258, 271, 288, 289, 340
(6) overcast and threatening	243, 271
(7) raining slightly	258, 290
(8) raining heavily	243, 259
(9) rainbow, or part	247, 271, 290, 337, 340
(12) dusk, twilight	291
(15) unusually fat, lazy person	272, 291, 341
(20) silent woman	248, 272, 291, 342
(21) slatternly woman	239, 248, 259, 273, 292, 342
(22) wife who is an encumbrance	260, 274
(26) left-handed	248, 249, 292, 337, 343
(31) all dressed up for an occasion	293, 294, 345
(32) well-to-do	260, 275
(34) impertinent (in an inquisitive way)	240, 261, 275, 294, 295, 346
(35) stubborn, awkward	249, 276, 295, 296, 333, 347
(36) irritable, quick-tempered	261, 276
(37) difficult to listen to because of continual self-praise	250
(40) club-footed	276, 296
(42) numbness in a limb	262, 277
(43) feeling of returning circulation	244, 262, 277, 297
(47) reduction in swelling	277, 348
(51) chattering	244, 278, 298
(53) abuse and counter-abuse	298, 299, 348
(54) mixed-up fight, brawl	240, 299, 300, 338
(56) fooling around as children do	262, 263, 278, 300
(57) giving assistance underarm	250
(58) to work at odd jobs	240, 279, 301, 349

55 Items Cont'd.

<u>Item</u>	<u>Page</u>
(64) to stop, cease	263, 280, 301, 349
(66) to extricate oneself by argument	251, 264
(71) to poke	241, 251, 264, 280, 302, 349
(74) to go for a ride on a vehicle	252, 303, 350
(77) rumour	265, 303
(78) funny story or incident	265, 280, 304, 333, 350
(79) the one who tells such (78)	266, 281, 305, 334, 350
(80) precipitately, in a sudden rush	305, 306
(83) kiss given to celebrate something new	281, 351
(84) frightening	252, 266, 307
(87) an exceptionally good thing	241
(88) new or unusual thing	245, 267, 282, 308, 334
(92) "She's very like her mother"	267, 308, 309
(101) "Is it to your satisfaction?"	253, 351
(102) specks of soot flying around room	245, 253, 310, 335
(122) wooden butter container	267, 311, 338
(141) entangled	268, 282, 312, 354
(147) cut of turf	254
(152) trimming of oatstacks	312
(153) dressing down of haystacks	268
(160) clot of wool or manure on animal	283, 313, 335, 355
(169) to dress a millstone	283, 351
(184) easily-crumbled, stony soil	284, 313, 355
(192) reef	254
(208) wren	255, 313, 336, 356
(215) tern	255, 356

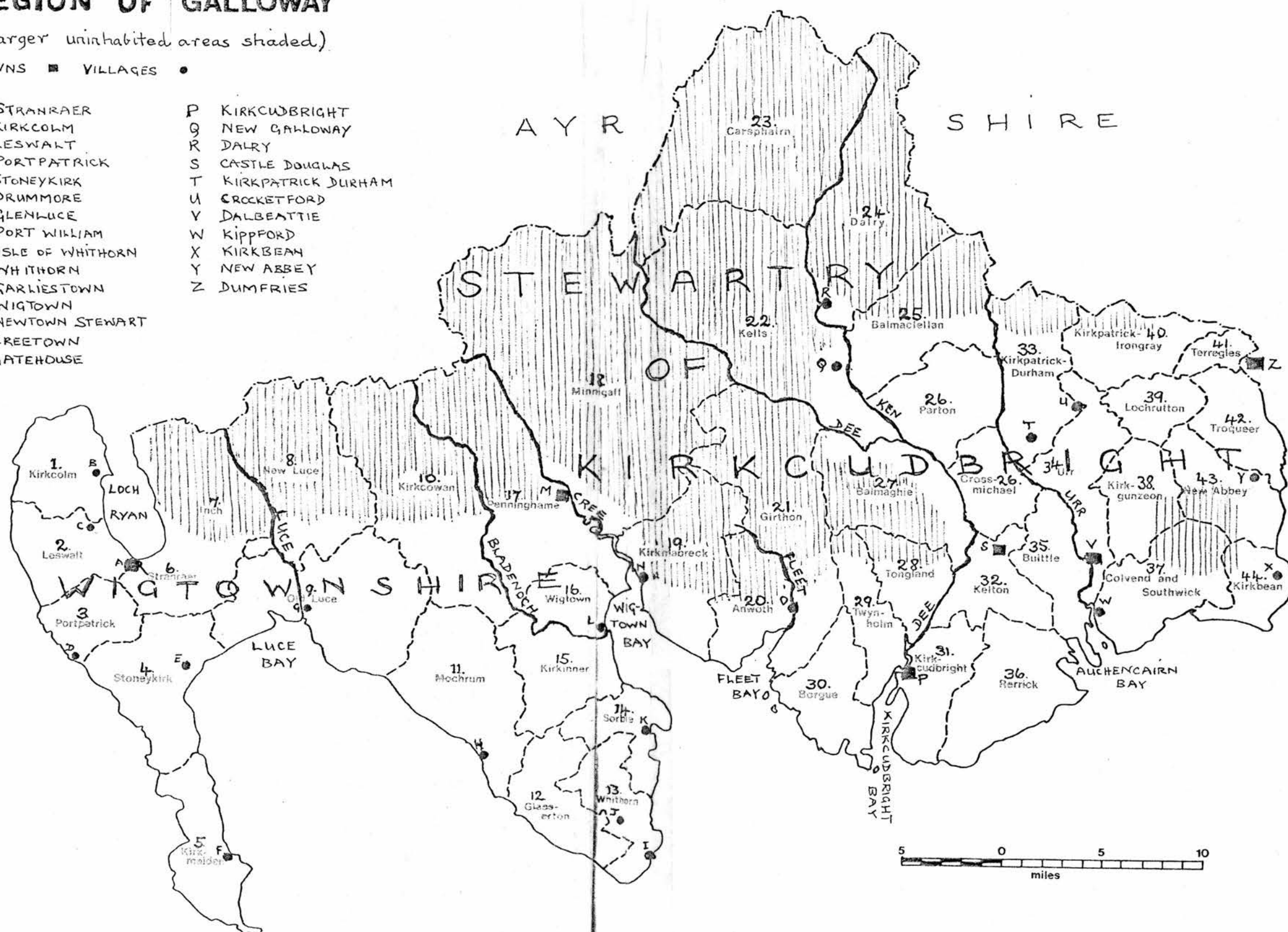
Region of Galloway

REGION OF GALLOWAY

(Larger uninhabited areas shaded.)

TOWNS ■ VILLAGES ●

- | | | | |
|---|------------------|---|--------------------|
| A | STRANKRAER | P | KIRKCUDBRIGHT |
| B | KIRKCOLM | Q | NEW GALLOWAY |
| C | LESWALT | R | DALRY |
| D | PORTPATRICK | S | CASTLE DOUGLAS |
| E | STONEKIRK | T | KIRKPATRICK DURHAM |
| F | DRUMMORE | U | CROCKETFORD |
| G | GLENLUCE | V | DALBEATTIE |
| H | PORT WILLIAM | W | KIPPFORD |
| I | ISLE OF WHITHORN | X | KIRKBEAN |
| J | WHITHORN | Y | NEW ABBEY |
| K | GARLIESTOWN | Z | DUMFRIES |
| L | WIGTOWN | | |
| M | NEWTOWN STEWART | | |
| N | CREETOWN | | |
| O | GATEHOUSE | | |



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miles

SOLWAY FIRTH